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THE STRUCTURE OF KANURI SOCIETY

BY

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(Anthropology)

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[Title Page]

1960

[A]

000 "... and if either here or in any foregoing part of this journal it may be thought that I have spoken too favourably of the natives we were thrown amongst, I can only answer, that I have described them as I found them, hospitable, kind-hearted, honest, and liberal: to the latest hours of my life I shall remember them with affectionate regard; and many are the untutored children of nature in Central Africa, who possess feelings and principles that would do honour to the most civilised Christian. A determination to be pleased, if possible, is the wisest preparatory resolution that a traveller can make on quitting his native shores, and the closer he adheres to it the better: few are the situations from which some consolation cannot be derived with this determination and savage, indeed, must be that race of human beings from whom interesting information cannot be collected."

Major Denham *

* Denham D. and Clapperton H., Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa, (Boston), 1826, p. 237

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Preface

Field work for this study was carried out in Bornu Province, Nigeria, from January 1956 to August 1957. The author is grateful to the Ford Foundation Area Training Program under whose financial support the field work was carried out. Through a grant from the Knapp Fellowship Fund of the University of Wisconsin, the writer was allowed an unencumbered year following the field work in which to analyse and write up the material.

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Although the author takes full responsibility for the following pages, they could not have reached their present form without the generous help of a number of people. Prof. C. W. M. Hart helped plan and guide the field work as well as reading and advising on earlier drafts of the present study. His intellectual stimulus has served as a major impetus in the development of the writer's approach to the study of society. Professors D. A. Baerreis and M. L. Barnett have given encouragement and advice throughout the course of the project and helped the writer in innumerable ways both administratively and in matters of scholarship.

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Periodic conversations in the field with Mr. and Mrs. A. Rosman, graduate students at Yale University, helped clarify many points about the Kanuri as well as indicating areas of uncertainty and ignorance which required further work. To Mallam Abdullah Yajuwa of the Bornu Department of Agriculture I owe a sincere debt of gratitude for his interest in the project and his well run surveys. His patience and forbearance with the insatiable curiosity of an anthropologist deserve special mention. The Waziri, the Yerima and the Digma of Bornu also deserve special acknowledgement as men of affairs who spared us their

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/22

valuable time and used their influence on our behalf. Many others deserve some mention for the generous contributions they made not only to our work but to our well being. Among these were the Provincial Education Officer, Mr. H. O. H. Vernon-Jackson, Mr. Tony May, of the United Africa Company, Mallam Alhaji Danboa, headmaster of the Kagumeri Junior Primary School and his colleagues, Lawan Mina, the Village Head of Kagumeri, the Bornu Provincial Government for their cooperation in putting the public records of the Emirate at our disposal, and many others whose friendships and cooperation made our stay in Bornu not just the operationalizing of a research project, but a rich personal experience.

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My wife has contributed so much in the form of criticism, encouragement, editing, and information, both in the field and during the write-up, that there is no specific help for which she can be acknowledged, for she shared it all.

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Introduction

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In studying a significant theoretical problem in a previously unstudied society, the anthropologist finds himself trying to cope with several problems at the same time. As a scientist he must focus his attention on those phenomena which deal specifically with his own sphere of study. As a field anthropologist he must also record data on the society and culture of a hitherto unrecorded, and often unique, segment of mankind using the skills of his discipline to ensure the reliability of this information. Difficulties may emerge because his theoretical problem often calls for a narrowing of observation, while the recording of new cultural and social data spreads the focus across the entire gamut of soci-cultural phenomena.

The present study is the writer's attempt at a compromise between these conflicting interests. The specific area of research upon which attention has been narrowed is that of change. The study as a whole seeks to describe and explain the trends of social change which have operated and are operating at present in the Kanuri society of Northern Nigeria. The general ethnographic problem arises from the fact that Kanuri culture and society have not been documented in the anthropological literature. In the pages to follow the reader is given a sufficiently wide view of the society in question so that the specific problem of change can be intelligibly linked to an understandable framework of social life as it is practised among the Kanuri.

To accomplish this rather broad objective, some limitations of scope are necessary which means that criteria of selection have to be imposed on the data. Put another way, any scientific enquiry is based upon assumptions. These direct the study along certain channels while

12.1 setting boundaries for the omission of what are hoped to be irrelevant materials. In the present work we have assumed the analytical separability of cultural and social phenomena and focused the enquiry on the latter. Culture is here defined as "transmitted and created content and patterns of values, ideas, and other symbolic-meaningful systems as factors in the shaping of human behaviour and the artifacts produced by behaviour".⁽¹⁾ Society or the social system designates "the specifically⁽²⁾ relational system of interaction among individuals and collectivities". Parsons and Kroeber regard these distinctions as necessary and claim⁽³⁾ that neither should be directly reduced to terms of the other. This means that the order of relationships within each can be treated as analytically independent from that in the other. Applied to the material at hand, it has been decided to remain within the level of the social system relating and describing phenomena at this level while for the most part omitting the cultural. The one important exception to this rule occurs in Chapter IX where patterns of consumption and distribution pertaining to such cultural materials as clothing, implements, and house types are systematically described and related to the social system. This has been deemed necessary because of the important relation which production and consumption bear to change in the society.

Using these self-imposed limits what emerges in the pages to follow is in no sense the "holistic" approach often attributed to anthropology. Thus very little is said of religion, witchcraft, techniques of pottery making, folk-lore, or the content of ceremonialism. Although the writer has gathered data on all these subjects they fall outside the limited scope of the present work.

(1) Kroeber, A.L. and Parsons, Talcott, The Concepts of Culture and Social System, ASR, 23, 5, 1958, p. 583

(2) Ibid: p. 583

(3) Ibid: p. 582

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571
Kanuri society is a social system whose boundaries are here-
in defined by the extent of the political boundaries of the Kanuri
state known as Bornu Emirate. As a language and a culture, Kanuri tran-
scends these borders but for present purposes the social system is defined
by its political limits. Social relations within this system are hier-
archically arranged for many of the most important functions of social
life and it can be seen in the pages to follow that within the frame-
work of the superior/subordinate relationship there is a high degree of
opportunism which characterises these social relations. Superior/sub-
ordinate relations are governed strongly by factors of power and auth-
ority. These variables make up a type of human action called govern-
mental and Smith's view is adopted here that such behaviour is possible
at all levels of human social organisation. (1) Since it is relationships
which are being described a two-sided definition is useful for analyti-
cal purposes. Looking at the relationship from the superior's point of
view, power is the ability to order action and make decisions about the
kind of action to be taken, and authority in the same direction is the
ability of the superior to secure performance of the action ordered. On
the other side of the relationship, power and authority refer to the
subordinate's sensitivity and response to the power and authority of
superior(s).

121
Whether or not a particular theory of society is espoused
by a writer, his work very often tends to support some contemporary
conceptions while contradicting others. It should be emphasised that the
writer had no pre-conceived notions about Kanuri social relations, nor
was he attempting to support, refine, or negate one social system theory

(1) Smith, M. G., On Segmentary Lineage Systems, JRAI, 86, 1957, p. 50.

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121 as against another. The data have been described as they were observed rather than as test data for any theory of society. Nevertheless the material to follow suggests that there may be more to the so-called "market model view" ⁽¹⁾ of the social system than its recent discreditors have led us to believe. This view emphasises social relationships and roles as objects of choice in terms of the net satisfactions expected. The market model has been criticized because it tends to portray social interaction as overly contractual and overly rational. Furthermore it is claimed that social relations must be analysed in relation to the values defining current role obligations or those internalized in personality, while economic relations are independent of such references. ⁽²⁾

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571 However the data to follow indicate that in Kanuri society many non-economic as well as economic relations are governed by what is most aptly described as "investment" and "return". Individuals perform certain roles for socially defined returns. When the performance of obligations is judged as insufficient then dissatisfaction arises which may result in a shift in social relations or a change in the performance within the relationship. The reader must judge for himself whether or not this is merely a "metaphorical construction", or an adequate description of Kanuri social life. ⁽³⁾

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123 The methods used in gathering data in the field fall into three categories: qualitative, quantitative and documentary. Qualitative methods of participant observation were used exclusively during the first eight months of field work. The writer and his wife lived in

(1) Hopkins, Terence E. Sociology and the Substantive View of the Economy in Trade and Market in the Early Empires, Polanyi, K., Arensburg, C.M. and Pearson, H. W. (eds.) p. 283.

(2) Ibid: p. 284

(3) Ibid: p. 284

(1)

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123 a medium sized rural Kanuri town, learning the language and making contacts among the local residents.

In approximately four months the writer could carry on interviews in the language, and by the end of the eighth, an outline of political and economic structure in the area was gained, plus some understanding of kinship, cultural values, and household economics. Although participant observation techniques continued until the end of the field trip, it was now deemed possible to introduce some quantitative techniques into data collection. For this purpose, questionnaires were designed on market involvement of peasant cultivators, kinship behaviour norms, marriage preferences among tribes, ranking of traditional and non-traditional occupations and a scheduled interview was made up concerning household income and expenditure. A Kanuri assistant was hired to conduct the surveys on market involvement of peasant cultivators and kinship behaviour norms. In addition, he kept records on the crop production techniques and amounts harvested as well as daily intake of the staple grain food, for seventy-five farmers in three towns.

114 The complexity of Kanuri society makes generalizations based on intensive work in only one community extremely precarious. Thus other parts of Bornu were visited, especially the capital Maiduguri, and Gaidam, a district capital in the northern part of the Emirate. Side trips to Dikwa and Biu Emirate and Damboa and Damaturu districts helped to broaden the perspectives of observation made on the basis of a long term stay in Magumeri. Innumerable visits on horseback to small hamlets helped in this respect as well. Finally, the variations possible in Kanuri social life were made even more apparent by the presence

124 (1) An interpreter was employed for the first ten days and then departed
191 leaving the writer and wife with only one person, the local school teacher, who could speak only a very little English.

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184 of another anthropologist, Mr. A. Rosman, who spent a large part of his field work time in the town of Gaidam. Periodic conversations with Mr. Rosman, plus the exchange of visits and information contributed enormously to our understanding of the generality of some Kanuri traits as against the local peculiarities of others.

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[127] During the final three months of field work, the writer and his wife moved into the capital and devoted part of the time to an analysis of all available government records covering the colonial period in the area. Ethnographic work at the court of the Shehu and in Maiduguri as a whole was carried on at the same time. However, it is painfully evident that much more work in the capital, using the methods of urban sociology as well as anthropology, is needed to complete a study which the present work has only begun.

128 The work is in three parts. The first part introduces the people and the locality giving pertinent information of population, geography and ecology. Also included in this section is an historical sketch of the pre-British period as well as an account of the significant changes introduced by the colonial era.

The second part deals with interpersonal relations. Here kinship behaviour norms are related to social interaction in the community at large, and these are described as they operate in the local residence groups. Marriage relations illustrate how the norms of behaviour operate between groups and individuals in the husband-wife relationship. The life cycle material then documents the manner in which individuals are recruited into and live within the small and large scale social structures of the society.

The third part deals with the wider scaled forms of social life. Stratification by various status dimensions is discussed and it

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is shown how these link together to form the segmentation of society into a two class system. Along with this description, changes and potential changes in the status system are pointed out. Political organization is then discussed from the point of view of the distribution of power and authority throughout the society as a whole. Changes produced by colonialism and Western contact in general are described and the adjustments to these are analysed.

Finally, the production, consumption and distribution of goods and services in a changing culture are discussed and analyzed in order to show how the standard of living is related to the operation of Kanuri social structure. In addition, the distributive system is shown to be intimately related to other forms of social organisation in the society as a whole.

The last chapter summarizes the findings and gives an analysis of the changes occurring in the Bornu today. This allows for a tentative statement concerning the future of the present social structure.

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In the typed text, the letter h is the phonetic g and is pronounced as the oo in lock or cook.

113

References to anthropological journals are as follows:

AA - American Anthropologist

SWJ - Southwest Journal of Anthropology

JRAI - Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute

3: Cohen B-4, 5 (1952-1957) 1960

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PART 1

The Setting and its Background

[p. xvi]

Chapter I

The Setting

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For at least a millenium the drama of empire has been played out in an immense area of Africa known as the western Sudan which lies at the southern fringe of the Sahara and stretches in a roughly east-west direction across the continent from the Atlantic to Lake Chad.

[178] Bornu is one of the oldest of these and has maintained itself as an
[631] ongoing political unit from early times into the modern world. Today the empire is a Muslim Emirate included as a sub-division of Bornu

162 Province in the Chad basin of northeastern Nigeria. The Emirate has
[131] an area of approximately 24,000 square miles and a population of
[161] 1,005,000 (1952 census) of which 626,000 are Kanuri, and 156,000 are
(1) Fulani and Shuwa nomads. The remaining 224,000 people include an unspecified number of small pagan groups in the south of the Emirate together with other Nigerians mostly from the Hausa, Ibo and Yoruba tribes. There are as well 5,000 non-Nigerians including Levantines, Europeans and Africans from other countries.

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[131] The Emirate lies within latitudes 11 to 13 N. and longitudes 11 to 13½ E. and has a typical sub-Saharan savannah climate. There is a mean daily maximum temperature of 94° F. from March to June and a mean daily minimum of 66° F. from July to February. The rainfall varies from north to south, being somewhat heavier in the south. Mean rainfall figures in inches per month at Maiduguri for the last thirty-six years are as follows:

J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D
.61	-	.01	.25	1.59	2.56	6.81	8.80	4.23	.75	.01	-

(1) The Province as a whole has a population of 1,596,000 of which 753,000 are Kanuri. Thus over 80% of the present Kanuri population of the Province live within the boundaries of the Emirate.

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Vegetation is open orchard bush with fine-leaved thorny trees predominating over an occasional broad-leaved variety. The terrain although very gently undulating here and there is for the most part flat and low lying (elevation 1,000 feet) with a more or less continuous short feathery grass cover. The loose, deep, easily worked sandy soil is excellent for cultivation while the lack of a thick vegetation cover makes the clearing of new farmland a relatively easy task.

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The main cereal crop is millet and a considerable amount of guinea corn (sorghum) is grown, especially in the southern portions of the Emirate. In addition to the grain staples, beans, maize, cassava, cucumber, tomatoes, and squashes are also cultivated, while groundnuts

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are used as the cash crop. In recent years, the agricultural department has been introducing fruit trees into the southern portions of the Emirate and scattering small orchards here and there through the northern bush with the idea of developing a local fruit industry.

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[197]

The people we are concerned with refer to themselves as Kanuri and speak a language of the same name. They call their territory Bornu and sometimes refer to themselves as kam Bornube (the people of Bornu). Among Hausa speakers in Nigeria the Kanuri and their language are known as Beri-Beri, but the Kanuri rarely use this term unless they are away from Bornu.

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Racially the Kanuri are difficult to place. Like other people at the southern rim of the Sahara they vary from negroid to caucasoid in appearance and in skin colour from coppery brown to very dark. Studies by Chalmers on blood group characteristics have shown that when lumped with other northern Muslim peoples the Kanuri indicate considerable similarity in ABO, MNS, and Rhesus blood groups, to

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144 southern Nigerians. The comparatively high frequency of Kbo (aDe) chromosome, characteristic of other African populations south of the Sahara, is also present among the Kamuri.⁽¹⁾

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The Kamuri are sedentary agriculturalists and live in various sized settlements scattered homogeneously throughout the Emirate. In their language they distinguish three kinds of settlements primarily on the basis of size. The largest category, birni (city) refers to centers of population containing 12,000 to 15,000 and over. Besides Maiguri, the capital, there are only two or three other centers of such large proportion. Villages (hala) form the most numerous category and vary in population from a few hundred to about ten thousand. The last category, hamlets (halades), contain from fifteen to twenty up to several hundred. For political purposes and the gathering of national census data hamlets are lumped in with villages and called village areas. This makes it difficult to tell from census data what proportion of the population of these village areas live in the village itself as compared with the number living in the surrounding hamlets within the boundaries of the village area. Village area tax rolls from one district (Magumeri) indicate that about one-half the population listed for any village area actually live in hamlets around the village included in its jurisdictional area.

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At first sight the Bornu countryside appears to be quite thickly populated. When travelling through the bush on horseback or truck, settlements and their encircling farms follow one another after intervals of bushland with unending regularity. This first impression is misleading however for most of the area is uncultivated, unpopulated bushland and the population density is only forty to sixty per square mile. This conclusion

(1) Chalmers J.N.M. and others; THE ABO, BWS and Rh Blood Groups of the Nigerians, Eugenics (London) 17, 3, 168-176, 1953.

161
311 is also supported by estimates made by officials of the Bornu agricultural department whose records indicate that only seven per cent of the total Emirate land area is under cultivation while another eight to nine per cent is resting land. Since the agricultural potential of the area is relatively homogeneous this means that there is no land pressure and no problem of over-population. 4.

631 Bornu Emirate is a political unit, among others, within Bornu Province and the latter is in turn one of the provinces making up the Northern Region, the largest of the three regions, of Nigeria. The Emirate is under the nominal rule of the Shehu of Bornu and his council, with this latter body under the executive direction of the Wasiri of Bornu. These leaders all reside at the Emirate capital, Maiduguri, which is also the capital of Bornu Province. The entire area of the Emirate is divided into twenty-one districts each under a District Head who resides in the district capital. In its turn, each district is sub-divided into village areas under the headship of a Lawan (village area head). Finally under the Lawan are the wards of his village and the hamlets surrounding his village within the village area boundaries. These wards and hamlets are headed by men called Balama.

648 The colonial government cuts across this semi-traditional structure. Its center is at Kaduna, the capital of the Northern Region of Nigeria, and its representatives reside throughout the region, with their headquarters at each provincial capital. The Resident Officer of Bornu Province is the senior colonial official in the province and is responsible to Kaduna for the administration of several Emirates and divisions of the province of which Bornu Emirate is only one, albeit the largest. Government departments of education, forestry, agriculture, and the like are responsible for their programs throughout the entire province and work through local native authority departments in each Emirate.

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The locality within the Emirate in which concentrated field work has been carried out is Magumeri situated about thirty-five miles northwest of Maiduguri on a motor road. Magumeri is the name of both the district and its capital town. The area has a much higher proportion of Kanuri than the Emirate in general. In Magumeri district ninety-six per cent of the population are Kanuri while this is true of only sixty-two per cent in the Emirate as a whole.

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The district contains 52,000 people (1952) and has an area of approximately four hundred square miles. Within its boundaries there are sixteen village area units including the Magumeri village area. This village area has a population of 4,200 of which roughly 2,000 live in the village proper and 2,200 live in hamlets within the village area.

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When compared to other rural district capitals in the Emirate, Magumeri village area is slightly smaller than the average. Excluding the two large cities of Nguru and Maiduguri, the population range for district capitals varies from 1,400 to 11,000, and the average is 5,100 persons. Seven district capitals are smaller and eleven are larger than Magumeri village area. It is reported by long term residents to have been a much larger village at one time but to have been losing population steadily over the past twenty years to Maiduguri.

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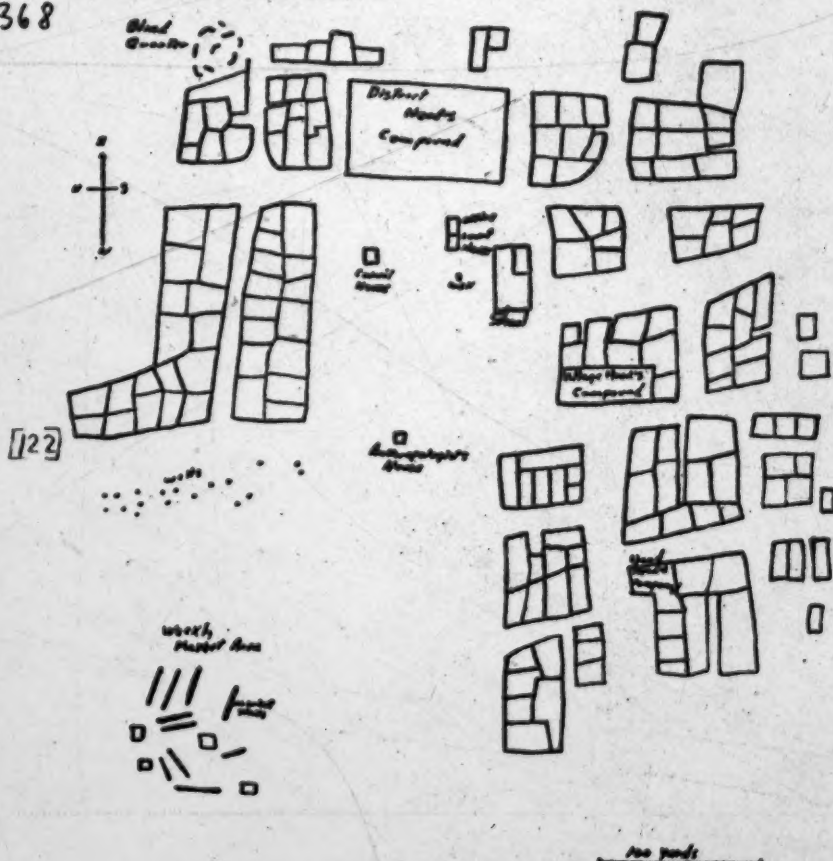
Like all other Kanuri settlements, Magumeri is built in a U shape around a central plaza (dandal) open at the west end with the house of the highest ranking person at the east end facing west. Lesser political leaders in the village have their own smaller plazas, again with their houses at the east end facing west. Another feature common to all Kanuri settlements is the placing of the butcher's section at the southwest side of a town or market so that the prevailing winds from the northeast carry the odour away. Like other district capitals,

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634 Like other district capitals,
 [621] Magumeri's highest ranking person is the District Head. As a district
 [368] capital it also contains a Junior Primary School, a court house, an in-
 frequently used District Council House, and a district office in which
 the tax records are kept by a Chief Scribe. These features are shown in
 the diagram below.

361 Diagram Map of Magumeri Village

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7.

Unlike some of the larger district capitals, Magumeri has almost no mud houses. Conical, thatched roofed dwellings inside compounds having grass mat walls are the rule. Only the District Head's and the Alkali's (Muslim judge) compounds contain any mud walled dwellings, and only the District Head's compound has mud walls. In the larger villages and District capitals, mud walls are more common as are mud houses. This gives Magumeri village a more rural appearance than many other capitals, since it is in the small villages and hamlets that this type of house predominates.

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In Magumeri the pagan quarter in which millet beer is made is right in the village. More usually pagan quarters are at the extreme edge of a village or at some remove altogether from the main settlement.

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This then is Magumeri. Its representativeness of Kanuri society in general is probably as good as any other village in Bornu.

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After having visited ten other district capitals, stayed in another for nearly a month, and the capital of the Emirate for three months, the writer is keenly aware of local differences but just as aware of the similarities in social life among all people who consider themselves Kanuri. These differences are especially pertinent in relation to the rural/urban dichotomy and between the upper and lower classes of the society. The writer is only too aware that any attempt at all-inclusive generalizations becomes perilous in the face of these ever present differentials in Kanuri life as a whole.

Chapter II

[p 8]

Ancient Roots to 1900

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The existence since earliest historic times of Empires and petty states, along the southern ridge of the Sahara, from Lake Chad over to the Sena-Gambia region of the Atlantic Ocean, that is to say roughly along the line of 12 degrees north latitude has appealed to writers for centuries. There is quite a body of early Arabic literature on the subject, and from the 19th century forward, an ever increasing group of European writers have become interested in Sudanic history. Although this material makes fascinating reading to anyone interested in the region as a whole, it is not within the purposes of the present work to summarise the historical events of the Sudan, the rise of Songhai, Mali, Ghana and their respective declines. Such an account would take the present discussion far off its limited scope of interest in the area of the Chad basin. However, two main points must be kept in mind which stem from this large body of literature, Firstly, there were to the west of Bornu throughout its entire history large states and empires which were rising, falling and expanding, and with whom Bornu was always in contact. Secondly, that all these empires and petty states maintained constant contacts, not only with one another, but with the great Muslim powers of North Africa and Spain through the medium of the ancient caravan routes of the Sahara.

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The possibilities of contact of peoples across the Sudan to the east of Chad is a much thornier question, and very little has ever been done by competent scholars to relate the eastern Sudan to the central and western portions.

(1)

The contacts of the Sudanic peoples with the south have either

- (1) See Arkell, A.J. History of Darfur, Sudan Notes and Records, Vol. 32, 1951, pp.33-38, in which he discusses the influence of Bornu on Darfur.

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been left out of the historical accounts of the area or have been played down so considerably that the reader finds it easy to forget that the Sudan is geographically adjacent to the Guinea coast. Lady Lugard set the style for this kind of thinking when she described the Sudan as "facing north". Yet the gold, the slaves, and the lowly kola-nut, which became popular as an article of consumption from Kano to Tripoli, all required well established relationships and contacts between the peoples of the Sudan and those to the south of them from very early times.

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Evidence on the early beginning of the Kamuri people is scant. Linguistically they belong to the central Saharan group of languages which extends like a boot into modern northeastern Nigeria, but for the most part takes up the area of the central Sahara, reaching north to include a good portion of Fessan, all of Tibesti, and stretching eastward in the desert until it meets the Afro-Asiatic group of languages, the so-called Hamito-Semitic group. Greenberg comments on the distinctiveness of the central Saharan group of tongues, and we may safely attribute to them a respectable time depth. Gautier has shown that Lake Chad delivered water into the Barku region in past times. According to another writer the whole territory northeast of Lake Chad was a great swampy shallow area until the early centuries of the Christian era. This was maintained by the overflow through a river valley (the Bahr el Ghazal) which is now only a dry depression. The surplus Chad water still flows along this passage today beneath the soil. Less than a century ago, Nachtigal saw the first

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- (1) Shaw, P.L. (Lady Lugard), A Tropical Dependency (London), 1905, p.3.
- (2) Greenberg, J.E., Studies in African Linguistic Classification: IV Hamito-Semitic, SWJ, 6, 1950.
- (3) Gautier, E.F., Sahara the Great Desert, (London) 1935, pp.68-69.
- (4) Tilho, J. in Geographic Journal LVI, 1920, quoted in Carpenter, Rhye, A Trans-Saharan Caravan route in Herodotus, American Journal of Archeology, Vol. 60, 1956, p. 240.
- (5) Nachtigal, G., Sahara und Sudan, p. 77ff

174 80 miles of its bed in flood and boats being used in these seasonal
 133 (1) swamps. Carpenter feels that it was these wet lands south of the Fessan
 rather than the Niger that Stearchus spoke of to Herodotus. It seems
 reasonable to suppose that as these enormous wet lands dried up central
 Saharan speaking peoples followed the course of this retreat and moved
 slowly over the centuries into the Chad basin, or at least concentrated
 more densely in this geographically favourable area.

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Until more historical and archeological research has been
 carried out, it would be wise to neglect some of the later writers' fanci-
 ful reconstructions and to concur with the ever careful Barth, in speaking
 of the first centuries of the Kanuri kingdom as its "silent beginnings". (2)

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Most scholars are agreed that the rulers of Bornu embraced Islam somewhere
 around the end of the 11th century. El Bekri writing circa 1067 A.D.

(3)

speaks of the people of Kanem as idolaters. However it is most likely
 that besides consulting merchants and travellers, he was consulting older

(173) texts on the subject. The king lists all agree on the fact that Mai (king)
 Hume (1083-1097 A.D.) died in Egypt on the way to Mecca, and it is upon
 this evidence that Islam is at present dated in Bornu. (4)

(177)

Urvey feels that this contact with Islam brought with it the
 knowledge of expansionism, powerful monarchy, and the idea of tributar-
 ies. (5) Whether this is true, or whether Islam only enhanced tendencies

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already present is impossible to say at present. Whatever the answer, it
 is recorded that the son of the above mentioned Hume, Dunama I (1097-
 1150 A.D.) expanded the little state of Kanem, northeast of Lake Chad, into

(1) Carpenter, Rhys, op.cit. p. 239.

(2) Barth, H. Travels in North and Central Africa, Vol.II (London) 1857,
 p. 643.

(3) El Bekri, quoted in Barth, H. op. cit., p. 634.

(4) Urvey, Y. Chronologie du Bornu, Journal de la Société des Africanistes,
 12, 2, 1942, pp. 271-289.

(5) Urvey, Y. Histoire de l'Empire du Bornu, Mem. IPAN, 7, 1943, p.36

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[131] a large Empire with the result that Kanem became a well known state in the Islamic world of the 12th century. By the 13th century, Kanem had extended itself to include a large region in the Chad basin, including present day Bornu, and more importantly was in control of the central Sahara with its trade route to Tripoli. (1) Friendship was contracted with the Hafsid rulers of Tunis, and we are told by Ibn Said writing at this time that a giraffe was sent by the King of Kanem to the Sultan of Tripoli as a present. He further notes that the practice of Islam is widespread amongst the population of Kanem at this time. (2) Kachim Biri, the reigning monarch from 1242-43 A.D., ordered the construction of a traveler's house for Kanuri pilgrims in the city of Cairo. (3) At the other end of the Muslim world, in Spain, a poet from Kanem was employed at this period in the court of El Mansur (1190-1214) at Seville, to sing the Sultan's praises. We are told by Lady Lugard that early references describe this person as a "learned and cultured poet, a black of the Sudan, Abu Ishah al Kanemi". (4)

Although information on the internal affairs of Kanem is scarce for this period, these outward ripples indicate extensive contacts and peaceful relations between a well organized state and the rest of the Muslim world of the 12th and 13th centuries. Since the early Arabic travelers who came to Ghana, Mali and Songhai were often told of the existence of Kanem to the east, it can be assumed that contacts across the Sudan were kept up and utilized as much as the northerly ones. (5)

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669 Local tradition in Bornu at the time of Barth's visit (1851) explained the eventual collapse of the great empire of Kanem in an interest-

- (1) Ibn Said writing of the rule of Dunama Ahmed (1221-1295 A.D.) says it included present day Bornu. Later writers claimed that Bornu reached to the Nile in this period. (See, Barth, H. op. cit. Vol. II, p. 641.)
- (2) Urvoy, Y. op. cit., 1949, p. 369.
- (3) Burckhardt, J.L., Travels in Nubia, (London) 1819.
- (4) Shaw, F.L., (Lady Lugard), op. cit. p 65.
- (5) See, Battutu Ibn, Travels in Asia and Africa, trans. H.A.R. Gibb (London) 1929.

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(1)

ing fashion. The legend claims that Dunama, the great 17th Mai of Kanem (1221-1259 A.D.) "laid the foundation for the ensuing disaster of the Empire by opening the sacred talisman of Bornu", for it (the talisman) called forth and provoked every powerful man to ambition and intrigues, and there followed after this reign a period of civil wars, and rapid changes in the monarchy, often involving regicide. It was at this time that the vassal state of the Bulala on the eastern boundary of Kanem grew towards an ever stronger independence, and finally toppled the Kanuri kingdom. We are told in the Chronicle translated by Barth that during the reign of the 27th Mai, Daud (1377-1386 A.D.) the Kanuri were decisively (2) beaten by the Bulala. By 1394 A.D., the 31st Mai, Omar (1394-1398 A.D.) finally gave up Kanem and came to Bornu proper to set up a kingdom in retreat somewhere between the present city of Maiduguri and the town of Gujba.

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There followed a period of unrest and internal strife for about 75 years, during which many kings took the throne and were in turn overthrown or murdered. The kingdom was in a constant state of civil war (3) within and set upon by enemies from without. Palmer in his researches has found references to a letter sent at this time to Cairo from the Kanuri monarch, asking the Caliph to order the Arabs of Wadai to stop helping the Bulala raid amongst the Kanuri for slaves, since they (the Kanuri) were all good Muslims, and not infidels to be treated as potential slaves for the taking. More evidence of the "Sturm und Drang" quality of the period is indicated by the fact that a Mai of this time lived away from Bornu in the Hausa city of Kano which had been in the past a vassal state of the Kanuri empire.

(1) Barth, H., op. cit. Vol. II; King list, pp 633-671.

(2) Ibid; p. 634.

(3) Palmer, R. The Bornu Sahara and Sudan, (London) 1936, p. 218

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However, resuscitation was at hand. In the last part of the 15th century, the kingdom was reconsolidated by the 48th Mai, Ali Ghajidani (1472-1504 A.D.), who quelled the civil wars and restored some measure of peace between the high ranking officials, with himself firmly in authority. He built a new capital, Birni Gazargamo on the river Ye (Komadu'u Yobe), about half way between the present towns of Damasak and Geidan, on the border of Nigeria and French West Africa in Bornu Province.

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His reign was marked by the re-conquest of the territory of Kanem, north-east of Chad, the extension of Bornu hegemony into Borku and Tibesti in the north, and continual but indecisive warfare against the powerful empire of Songhai in the west. It is also about this time that Bornu is first mentioned in the early European maps of Africa put out by the Portuguese cartographers of the late 15th century. Mai Ali's reign was followed by a series of others no less notable, including that of Mai Idris Alooma, for whom we have a contemporary record written by his court scribe some-time around the beginning of the 17th century. (1) It is Idris who is supposed to have introduced the technique of burnt brick into the area. However, there is some doubt on this point for it is known that the Songhai king Mansa Musa brought back from his great pilgrimage a Granada poet and architect, Es Saheli, who built a mosque at Gao (200 miles due east of (2) Tibuctu on the Niger) of burnt brick at the beginning of the 14th century.

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When the second empire was founded at Birni Gazargamo, fighting increased against the So, a people with whom the Kanuri seem to have fought continually throughout their history. A small digression must be made here in order to assess these often mentioned So people of the ancient traditions. These people are said to have been native to the Bornu

(1) Ahmed ibn Fartus: History of the First Twelve Years of the Mai Idris Alooma, 1571-1583, by his Imam; trans. by H.R. Palmer, 1926.

(2) Bovill, E.W., Caravans of the Old Sahara, London, 1933, p. 73

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area before the arrival of the Kanuri. French workers claim that the Kotoko tribe who live today around the area of Fort Lamy are the contemporary descendants of the ancient So peoples, and French archeologists have been digging up "So" sites for some years. Kanuri traditions speak of the So as "giants" whom they finally vanquished after suffering great tribulations. Many of the monarchs in the Bornu King lists are described as dying in battle against the So. The stories of these "giants" are not however confined to Kanuri traditions, but can be found all over the Chad area, and well up into the desert, especially around Bilma. This last point suggests a hypothesis that the So were really not any one group of people but a linguistic category in the Central Sahara, referring to aboriginal inhabitants who opposed the incoming group, or, against whom "our" group had to fight in times gone by. To support this argument, there is the evidence that the word So is an Arab usage from the Maghreb, which refers generally to all dark skinned peoples of Tibesti and the Sudan. When it is realized that the first writers of Kanuri history must have been able to speak Arabic, as well as having a knowledge of its script, it is not surprising that this North African word for the indigenous people of the Sudan should be carried down to the present day. This leads to the conclusion that any search for the So culture, using the traditions of the present day inhabitants, is doomed to disappointment, for it is most likely that there was not one, but many So cultures and peoples.

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Soon after the founding of the city of Birni Gasargamo, Bornu achieved a florescence in its history. During this second zenith of the Kanuri empire, Bornu vied with Songhai as the most powerful of the great Sudanic states. Embassies were maintained at Tripoli and the Hausa states

- (1) Seliquer Capitaine; Elements d'une Etude Archeologique du Pays du Tchad, Bull. IFAN, Vol. 7, 1945, pp.191-209.
- (2) Buchanan, Angus; Sahara, quoted in Palmer, R. op. cit., p. 126.
- (3) Bovill, W.E., op. cit. p.23.

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648 paid tribute to imperial Bornu, although very often the Songhai would extend themselves and the Hausa would face around for a short while to bow to the ⁽¹⁾ suzerainty of Timbuctu. Kanuri power also extended up into the Fessan taking in the important salt works of Bilma. In the east, Bornu hegemony probably reached into the Darfur region and in the south to the present town of Biu in south Bornu. ⁽²⁾

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178 From this pinnacle of majesty at the beginning of the 17th century a slow decline ensued which continued from the time of the 55th Mai, Muhammed (1602-1618 A.D.), son of Mai Idris Alooma, through the 18th century until the collapse of the second Kanuri empire in 1808. Although none of the writers are agreed on the causes of this decline it is possible that the monarchy and the court life had become so overly elaborate and ritualised, that it hampered the operation of effective leadership in a state requiring constant vigilance and warfare for its survival. It is reported that throughout almost the entire 18th century, the Mais rarely, if ever, left the confines of the palace during their reigns. ⁽³⁾ Traditions during this period tell of famines and pious leadership, rather than administrative and military successes.

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721 From about the 14th century onwards a nomadic cattle people, the Fulani, had been filtering into the Sudan from the northwest and slowly moving across the whole of what is today Northern Nigeria. In February of 1804, for a number of political and religious reasons, a Fulani religious leader, Othman dan Fodio, declared a Hejira, or Flight from Diga (evil), which was an expression of defiance and aggression towards the Hausa leaders. From this period forward he and his warrior-scholar son, Bello, carried on a holy war in the Sudan that resulted finally in an empire

(1) (Shaw, F. L. (Lady Lugard), op. cit. p. 279

(2) Arkell, A.J. The History of Darfur; Sudan Notes and Records, Vol. 33 p. 246.

(3) Stennings, D. Nomads of the Great Forest (Ms.) 1955

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with its center at Sokoto. The Fulani who had settled in Bornu were encouraged to rise up and support the war, and soon Bornu felt the onslaught of Fulani forces. In 1804-5, Kano sent for help to its overlord state of Bornu and a Kanuri force was dispatched to aid the vassal in quelling the revolt. This relief force was soundly beaten by the insurgents and Kano fell under the rule of the Fulani. These and other early successes encouraged the Bornu Fulani who began organizing their revolt in Western Bornu and declaring themselves openly for Othman dan Fodio. We still have letters from this period sent back and forth between the Fulani and the Kanuri. The Kanuri scribes write of the attack as an outrage since it is a holy war against themselves, true believers, while the Fulani write of cruel and pagan practices being carried out in Bornu which must be cleansed. However the political nature of the campaign was obvious to all concerned, ⁽¹⁾ as it is to us in retrospect. In 1808, a Fulani chief, Gwoni Muhktar, organized a force and moved against Birni Gazargamo, the ancient capital. It was taken and sacked. Some 44 years later in 1852, Barth met a man in Bornu who had been in the old capital on the day it fell. According to this report the attack was quite sudden and very little opposition was offered. The King and his courtiers left hurriedly by the east gate, while the Fulani entered the west gate in triumph.

An appeal for help was sent to a Kanuri Sheikh, Mohammad al Aminu, who with the help of Kanembu and Shuwa Arabs, had prevented Fulani ⁽²⁾ risings on the western and northern shores of Lake Chad. El Aminu or Laminu as he is remembered today sent his son and a force to help the Kanuri and nine months after the capital had fallen it was retaken. Laminu wrote

(1) Bovill, E.W. The Golden Trade of the Moors, (London) 1958, p. 230, feels that this Fulani expansion was primarily a religious movement. Nevertheless there can be no doubt that the end result of the Holy War was the Fulani Empire of Sokoto.

(2) A tribal leader from Kanem, the territory north and northeast of Lake Chad.

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175 to Bello and complained that violence was being used for political
721 aggrandizement, not religious conversion. Bello replied that the attacks
were justified because of the oppression of the Fulani in Bornu, and the
heathen practices of the Kanuri people, and because of aid given by Bornu
to Kano and Katsina to resist the holy war.

Between 1809 and 1811 the capital fell again to the Fulani
and was retaken a second time by Lamina for the Kanuri, but it was aban-
175 doned from this time forward as the center of the Bornu state. The results
178 of these few years were cataclysmic for the history of Bornu. The Fulani
727 invasion was halted, although the western vassals were now under the
643 sovereignty of the Fulani Empire of Sokoto. Bornu had survived the Jihad
(holy war), but at the cost of her famous capital of Birni Gazargama, and
the loss of a dynasty of rulers, the Magumi Sefuwa, who had retained the
monarchy for 1000 years. For in appealing to Lamina for help, the Kanuri
Mai triggered off the beginning of his and his family's end as the effec-
tive monarchs of Bornu, meanwhile initiating the beginning of the Kanembu
dynasty which sits on the Bornu throne today.

175 The traditional Mai set up a new capital, called Kafela (open
643 place) near the present town of Monguno, and Lamina resided for a while at
[103] nearby Ngomo on the shores of Chad. However the constant threat of inun-
[361] dation from the Lake forced him to move his headquarters further inland to
[721] Kuka which became the 19th century center of the Bornu state. Ruling from
behind the scenes, with the Mai still on the throne as a puppet, Lamina
tried to re-consolidate the kingdom from 1820-35, by recapturing the west-
ern vassals, and even at one point (1826) by menacing Kano. It was during
this period that Denham and Clapperton visited Bornu and in their publica-
tions we have a good record of the contemporary court life and politics of
the kingdom, as well as some glimpses into the nature of everyday life in

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643 Borno in the 1820's. (1)

In 1835 Shehu Laminu retired and his son Umar (1835-1860) took over the effective headship of the Borno state. Like his father, he attempted to maintain and expand the kingdom, while keeping the old Mai on the throne. During one of Umar's western campaigns against Zinder, the puppet Mai, Ibrahim appealed to Wadai for help in restoring him as the rightful ruler of Borno against the Kanembu Shehu who had usurped the power. Umar returned from his Zinder campaign to find himself being attacked from the east by Wadai. Hearing of the Mai's instigation of this aggression, Umar put the puppet ruler in irons and tried to fight the Wadai forces at Logone, north of Lake Chad, but he was soundly defeated. Kuka was sacked, and the Wadai leader put Ali the young brother of the Mai on the throne. Umar, in high dudgeon, executed Ibrahim and bribed the Wadai forces to withdraw from Borno. The young Ali and his small following were now attacked and defeated, during which encounter Ali lost his life. And so ended the dynasty of the Magumi Sefuwa of Borno. Shehu Umar declared himself the sole ruler of Borno and rebuilt the city of Kuka which Barth visited in the 1850's. Local tradition marks this occasion by telling how Shehu Umar was the first of the Borno monarchs ever to sit on a chair. Before this time leaders had always sat on rugs. It is also related of him that he took a member of the royal family, Ali Mairami, who was the son of a daughter of Mai Dunama (1810-1818), (i.e. he was not in line for the succession) and made him a Maisuli or joking king, who could joke with and chastise the Shehu in a manner prohibited to anyone else. This practice is still carried on today by the descendant of Ali Mairami in the court of the Shehu at Maiduguri.

(1) Denham, Dr. Clapperton H. Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa, 1826.

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With minor disturbances, including one by the brother of Shehu Umar, in 1854, the Bornu kingdom maintained itself in a fairly stable condition, throughout the reign of Umar, and even afterwards during the reign of his son Bukr (1880-4). However trouble was soon to come from the east.

In the Bahr el Ghazal and Darfur region of the present independent Sudan, an adventurer named Rabeh was slave raiding under the power of the first Egyptian governor of the Bahr, named Zubayr, in the 70's and early 80's. However Zubayr's son Stiman headed a rebellion against Egyptian authority and was defeated, and his army disbanded. A remnant of this force headed westward under Rabeh who transformed this band of freebooters and pillagers into a disciplined army which, in the late 80's under the banners of the Mahdi, terrorised the Bahr el Ghazal, conquered 175 Wadai, and defeated the Bagirmi Kingdom east of Chad. In 1893, he engaged 721 the Bornu army near Ngala and vanquished it. Whereupon he entered a defeat- 727 ed Bornu and literally raped the countryside. From 1893-6, he despoiled the entire area, putting to death many of the leading figures in Bornu who opposed him, and tried to spread his conquest as far west as possible. In this latter effort he was checked by a union of western forces and 175 refugee Kanuri at the present site of Gaidam in northwest Bornu. After 643 1896 from his capital at Dikwa, Rabeh seems to have attempted a consolidation of the kingdom and due to these efforts at administration a more [173] moderate policy was followed. Nevertheless, his rule is remembered in Bornu [661] today as the blackest period of their history. Old men are still alive who tell of the pillaging, burning, slave-raiding, killing and excessive extortion of the peasants, that was carried on during the "Rabeh period."

(1) c.f. Balfour-Paul, H.G. History and Antiquities of Darfur; Sudan Antiquities Service, Museum Pamphlet #3 Khartoum, 1955.

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The political organization of the 19th century was almost completely overhauled by Rabeh. Fiefs were re-constructed with new boundaries and given to his own followers, while the old fief holders were often killed. But it should be stressed that complete chaos was not the rule of the day, as many writers have assumed. Rabeh was establishing a state under a new and alien leadership. It had been done by Laminu at the beginning of the 19th century, albeit with much less internal turbulence. It is most probable that had history given him the chance Rabeh would have founded the third dynasty of the Bornu empire and linked its relations much more closely to the east. It was European events that impaired the direction of this development. Rabeh's triumph and abortive attempt at empire building was cut short because in the European world the "scramble for Africa" had come to Nigeria and was rapidly closing in on the would-be king.

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The presence of a good sized literature on pre-British Bornu, including travellers's accounts, the extant collections of early Kanuri⁽¹⁾ records, especially the historical writing of Ahmed ibn Fartun, and the so-called "District Notebooks" of early 20th century British Colonial Officers who tried to reconstruct the pre-Rabeh political organization and tax structure of Bornu, enable us to say something about the life of the Emirate in its pre-European period. To this list of sources can be added the oral traditions of contemporary Kanuri, especially some of the older men in and around the Shehu's court.

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Very little remains at present (besides the archeological material) to record the life of Bornu in the early pre-Muslim days of the

(1) Ahmed ibn Fartun; op. cit.

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kingdom. It is probable that the early state was organized as a group of clans, with one clan and a lineage within it as the ruling group. There is the possibility that this dominant group was an intrusive one, but this point has been so over-stressed with no substantiating data by other writers, that it would be wiser to leave it until sufficient archeological research has been done.

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After the move to Bornu and the founding of the capital of Birni Gasargame we have some contemporary data with which to assess the life of the times. Ibn Fartua expresses the feelings of a chief servant of the Mai concerning the ethical nature of the state in the 16th century. He says that " . . . every people relies on imitation of its leaders. The leader goes before and the people follow him. He leads them to the Garden as it were by a bridle, after giving the Book of Direction, glad tidings about the Faith, right direction, and sure guidance in the path of law. So every man knows his rights and his obligations to others. Most excellent is the fame of just deeds, and justice on the part of a Mai for one day is equal to service of God for sixty years . . . A place where there is an evil Mai is better than a place which has none." ⁽¹⁾ Thus the structural position of the Mai is extolled as being even more important than its functions, for when a leader is present every man knows his relationship to other men, and the people are enjoined to feel blessed at the fact of political leadership per se.

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The political organization of Bornu during the second florescence of the kingdom was structured outwards from the capital at Birni Gasargame with the cardinal directions of the State under the military protection of four titled noblemen. The south was under the Yurama or chief eunuch; the north was held by the Mustrema (also a eunuch); the east by the Kaigana (a

(1) Ahmed ibn Fartua, op. cit. pp. 10-11.

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nobleman); and the west by the Yerima (a nobleman). As far as can be ascertained these men were not enfeoffed of these portions of the kingdom (they held fiefs elsewhere), but were rather hereditary titles connected with military functions in one of the quarters of the state, or in the army as a whole. Thus the Mustrema was responsible for controlling raids upon the northern area of the realm, and was in charge of northern troops when the army of the kingdom was assembled for war. In contrast, Nguru, in the northwest, was held by the Galidima who still holds it today. The latter, unlike the other "subregents", but like the tributary vassals, resided in his territory as a kind of semi-independent king although he was also one of the paramount courtiers of the Bornu ruler. All other nobles lived at the capital under the watchful eye of their king, and toured their districts only when trouble was brewing or taxes were needed. Working within the above system was the organisation of the state into fiefdoms held by the nobility, rewarded servants of the king, and military personnel. Any person to whom a fief was given or who received it through inheritance from an original recipient (which was more often the case) was called the Chima Kura. As was pointed out, all nobles with the exception of the Galidima lived at the capital, and the administration of the fief was carried on by a Chima Gana (small Chima) who was most often a slave or trusted servant of the Chima Kura. The Chima Gana usually resided in the fief itself raising taxes and maintaining law and order. With this system it was easy to gear in vassal states or named peoples. Their leaders were simply made Chima Kura of the Kanuri state, which strengthened the leader's position in his own group after conquest, and manoeuvred him into the Kanuri political organisation. Local traditions are fairly unanimous in attributing contin-

(1)
(1) This office because of its different nature was also referred to as the Kura Jiliba (head of the tribe or clan). The Kura Jiliba was however acting as the Chima Kura of his group, in relation to the Bornu throne.

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[173] Local traditions are fairly unanimous in attributing
uity to this system of fiefdoms when the dynastic power changed hands at
the beginning of the 19th century. Gradually the state began to be organ-
ised as it was of old, before the Fulani attacks, although now the fiefs
were distributed amongst the family, courtiers, slaves and eunuchs of the
Shehu.

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642 An early British report in Bornu indicates some of the dynamic
qualities of the fief system as it operated in pre-British Bornu. Tomlin-
son found that from 1893 to 1900 Rabeh had reduced the number of fiefs and
for the most part placed them under his major lieutenants. (1)
(2) Being a stranger
in a new land Rabeh had to keep his control as tight as possible and rely
on a few trusted followers. Therefore the number of fiefs were reduced.
Alternatively, when the Shehu was re-instated by the British and asked
to help create "Districts" out of the old fiefs, he attempted to make as
many of them as he could in order to obtain as large a body of followers as
possible to consolidate his power.

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[562] Although there is no mention made in any of the sources on
Bornu, Kanuri informants claimed that the Chima Kura had the right to sell
a fief if he so desired. Titled women were also given fiefs which were,
as in the case of a male fiefholder, managed for them by slaves or servants
in residence at the fief.

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651 The pre-British taxation system is remembered as consisting of
two separate levies. One, the binkaram collected in binkam (winter) was
the property and organizational responsibility of the Chima Kura who owned
the fief. Taxes were collected in kind at the local peasant level. The

- (1) Tomlinson, F.J.F. Report of Nganzai District; 1918, in Prov. Office Maiduguri, Bornu, Prov. Nigeria.
- (2) In a few cases, when the old Kanuri fiefholders declared allegiance to Rabeh, they were allowed to retain their fiefs. This occurred in the case of the fief of Magumeri in the 1890's.

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Chima Kura sent out a messenger from the capital to his representative in the fief, the Chima Gana, instructing him of the total demand of the levy. The messenger and the Chima Gana then raised the tax levy in the fief and extracted a surplus for their pains.

Part of this tax was given to the Shehu by the Chima Kura as sada'a (tithe). However, we are told that another tax was levied (also called the sada'a) which was specifically a royal revenue. Opinion differs as to the organization of the levy. Some sources tell of the king selling collection rights to trusted courtiers, while others refer to this tax as a special harvest tithe collected by the fief-holder and his representatives, partly for himself and partly for the king.

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Within his holdings a fief-holder might use some of the area for his own purposes. For example, he might settle some of his slaves in a village and a large portion of the produce would come to him as his rightful property. Or again, the fief-holder might give a segment of his holding to a mallam or a group of mallams (religious teachers and practitioners) so that they might have land to farm and support themselves. Very often such a settlement would be mahram, i.e. tax exempt. These areas can still be noted in Bornu today in the names of villages. A village called Karliyari, or slave town is the present site of one of the old slave settlements in a fief, while the name Mallamari for a town refers to its past history as a town of mallams or holy men.

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In the case of the vassal states which were subdued in war, a portion of the tithes collected by the local chief would always be sent off as tribute to the ruler of Bornu. To insure that this practice was carried out, the Bornu monarch often placed a servant or a slave (never a relative) in the capital of the vassal state. When Richardson reached Zinder in the 1850's, he found an Arab of Tripoli who had travelled widely

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in the Mediterranean, ensconced in Zinder (a tributary of Bornu) as the representative of the Bornu monarch. A slave raid carried on into Bornu territory by the monarch of this petty state, for the purpose of allowing him to pay some of his personal debts, was condoned by the Bornu "consul" because a portion of the spoils from the raid was to be sent to the Shehu. Richardson also expressed the opinion that much of the real power in Zinder was in the hands of the Shehu's Representative rather than with the local authorities.⁽¹⁾

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From the earliest records extant of the Kanuri empire in Kanem right up until the arrival of the British, a system of tax exemption obtained called the Mahram. Although it most often applied to religious mallams, who were recognized in this way for their esoteric knowledge in matters of law and religion, special services to the king were sometimes rewarded in the same way. These exemptions were always recorded in writing, so that when the British arrived and began instituting their own form of universal taxation many of these documents, some claiming 990 years of exemption, turned up. They were collected, translated and subsequently published by Palmer.⁽²⁾

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Judicial power was divided between the political leaders and the Muslim Alkalai (judges), as it is today. In the kingdom of the Mais centered at Birni Gazargamo, traditions tell of the Mainin Kanandi, literally the second to the king. This man was the chief judge of the state and, it is said, the second most important man in the realm.

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In the house and the quarter of the Mainin Kanandi were twelve other judges, who with himself constituted the high court of the realm. In the larger towns, the king appointed local mallams to act as judges, from

(1) Richardson, J. Mission to Central Africa; Vol. II, pp. 182ff; 1853

(2) Palmer, H.R. op. cit. pp. 12-51.

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692 whom appeals could be made to the high court in the capital. The keeper
693 of the records or scribe of the high court, the Talba was considered the
[645] third most important person in the kingdom. It is said that this high
court plus its scribe served as a council to the king in the affairs of
state because of its members' knowledge in matters of law and religion.

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643 When the Birni dynasty fell in the 19th century, Shehu Lamiru
served as the highest judge in the land, thus bringing political and judi-
cial functions even more closely together in the state. He kept the idea
of an appeal court and local courts but did much of the high court adjud-
[631] ication himself. The relation of the temporal judiciary and its religious
practitioners is illustrated by a European traveller's account in the 1820's,
(1) who records that local judges' decisions could be reversed by the high
court or the local political resident.

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463 The presence of a large upper class and a royal court with
its patterns of specialized consumption, the uneven distribution of in-
tensive cropping and craft production localities, the contacts with North
Africa and to a lesser extent the western Sudan, for the last 1000 years,
have all acted as conditions supporting the differentiation of labour in
[44] Bornu. This has produced the idea and the physical reality of the market.

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439 Trade has been a well organized aspect of the society for centuries. A
complex system of distribution and production through the market was ob-
served by the first travellers in the area. Grain was dispatched to Bilma
up in the desert in return for salt. This trade so tied the people of Bil-
ma to Bornu that even today when the trade has been much reduced, they
still feel themselves very closely allied to the Kanuri. Natron from Lake
Chad was taken to Kano and from there traded all over coastal West Africa.

(1) Denham, D. and Clapperton, H. op. cit. p.23

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439 There is some information on a copper trade which the Kanuri middlemen carried on between Darfur in the east and the Nupe area of the Niger river in the west. ⁽¹⁾ Contacts with southern people although most often channelled through Kano were sometimes made directly in the trade carried on for the much desired kola-nut. Finally, slavery was a specialised trade from which political figures had a ready source of income. The slaves were often sold locally through middlemen although there was an eager market for them across the desert in Tripoli, Tunis and Cairo.

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Currency seems to have come rather late to Bornu as compared with some of the other Sudanese countries. Certainly the nobles and large traders knew of its use in the early 19th century, but the Kanuri peasant had not taken up the customs of currency use that were prevalent amongst his contemporaries in other places such as Kano and Zinder at the time. In the 1820's Clapperton noticed that it was not until he arrived at Katakum, on the way to Kano from Bornu, that cowrie shells were being used as currency. Although he did notice that rolls of cloth from native weavers could be used as currency in some of the Bornu markets. ⁽²⁾ By 1850 the rolls or strips of cloth (gaba's) were being slowly replaced in Bornu by the cowrie shell. ⁽³⁾ Amongst the traders and the upper classes, both Maria Theresa and Spanish dollars were available for use as money and were even seen in limited use in the Kuka market in the 1850's. However Barth's most revealing passage in this respect tells of his difficulty in buying food from the rural peasants who came to market and refused to have anything to do with the currency. In order to buy grain, it was necessary for Barth to change his M. T. dollars to cowries, then buy one or more kulu'u (men's robes) and then barter this item of clothing for the required cereal. That

(1) See Arkell, A.J. 1952

(2) Denham, D. and Clapperton H; op. cit. Clapperton's Journal, p.21.

(3) Barth, H; op. cit. Vol. II, p.311.

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is to say, even those peasants marketing in the capital had not accepted the use of currency in 1850. Nevertheless some levels of the society must have been using the gursu (M.T. dollars) for some time, since Denham remarks that strips of cloth used for currency could be purchased in Bornu for forty to the M.T. dollar in the 1820's. ⁽¹⁾ The market scenes observed by both Barth and earlier by Denham in the 19th century differ only slightly from those observed anywhere in Bornu today.

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As far as can be inferred from available sources, warfare and slave raiding made the life of the common people one of uneasy tension. Being the serf of one chief might not prevent a nearby potentate from sending out a raiding party which might easily clear out an entire local area of its inhabitants. The criterion which directed slave raiding only upon pagans was often honoured in the breach, especially if a chief's debts were pressing. Again local life was often broken up by the feudal service in war which peasants owed to their chiefs. We are told in the history of Bornu of armies of thousands and campaigns which were waged annually year after year for generations. In discussing this point, Denham felt that warfare resulted in a very mobile society where fortunes rose and fall rapidly and life as an intrinsic value was not highly regarded. ⁽²⁾ People in towns and villages, he says, are often mercilessly attacked and plundered. Accounts tell how the inhabitants, in attempting to fly, were caught by their attackers, whereupon, in most instances, the men were killed and the women and children lashed together and taken as slaves. Military men and their followers often died in droves on campaigns, widowing all their wives and concubines at one blow.

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In response to this constant warfare, villages in danger would

(1) Denham, D. and Clapperton; op. cit. p. 54
(2) Ibid; p. 135

175 In response to this constant warfare, villages in
361 danger would

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712 either build near hills, to which they would retire in case of attack, if
they lived in the south, or hide the site in a bushy place with barricaded
and camouflaged entrance paths to the town. They would often build large
covered holes with spikes at the bottom to stop intruders, especially
raiders on horseback. Again, many villages would construct large mud-
stockaded walls for the same protective reason.

175 This pattern of constant warfare in Bornu is very old. The
721 contemporary record of the reign of Mai Idris Alooma, which has been pre-
17P served, is almost entirely an account of one military campaign after

175 another. Firearms have been used in Bornu for at least 400 years, and the
411 first request that Shehu Laminu made of the European explorers, who found
17P their way there in the 1820's, was for a cannon. (1) The interest in war-

175 fare by the leaders was reflected in the highly organized manner in which
726 warfare was conducted. Thus, before the battle witnessed by Denham, the

[701] Shehu inspected at military maneuvers of his troops. Each chief and slave
commander (Kachella) had his own little "general staff" of close associates
and when the order to advance on the enemy was given, each of these little
"staffs" led their own groups forward. When the maneuvers were over, one
of the groups was given the task for that day of watch and sentry duty for
the entire camp.

173 Informants in Maiduguri recalled 24 Kachellas in pre-Rabah
701 Bornu. Each had a "regiment" of cavalry and foot-soldiers, and the army
was drawn into two divisions, under twelve Kachellas per unit. The first
[644] was called the "house" force. It generally remained close to the Shehu,
and its soldiers constituted a standing army or palace guard whose primary
duty was the protection of the monarchy. The second division was called
the "bush" unit, not because it fought outside the capital, but rather be-

(1) Ibid., p. 149.

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701 cause its soldiers were peasant subjects and rural followers of fief holders, whose homes were not in the capital but out in the Bornu countryside. In the pre-19th century military system, each of the four regional military leaders (the Yurama, Mustrema, Kaigama, and Yerima) had under him a force of Kachellias, each of which in turn headed up a regiment of foot-soldiers and cavalry.

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727 Very often a diplomatic Bornu ruler, after having defeated his enemy in battle would assess the situation and try to decide whether or not the chief of the opposing side (if Muslim) was worth keeping. If not he was executed. But very often the rebel or enemy leader was humbled, then raised up after a defeat and encouraged to become a loyal vassal of the King of Bornu.

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726 It is also interesting to note that at least part of the morale of Shehu Laminu's army resided in the general belief in his supernatural powers as a military leader. The night before the battle witnessed by Denham it was reported that Laminu had written charms (verses from the Koran) and his enemies' spears and arrows were blunted and found so in the morning by their owners on the day of battle. Laminu was extremely anxious that Denham set off a rocket for him on the night before the battle, presumably for the same reason.

War itself was highly organized. The maintenance of the state required elaborate rituals and ceremonies to dramatize militarism, and the belief in the supernatural power of the leader or his religious associates helped maintain the morale of the army, which was also goaded on by a comprehensive system of sharing in the plunder. However, this tended to create for the average citizen an areal mobility not usually associated with peasant life in Africa. A man might return from the wars to his village on the borders of the state to find no village, nor wife, nor home,

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since the absence of the local chief with a force of young men had tempted the neighbouring chief, or some wandering nomad raiders, to plunder the town for slaves and booty.

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When the British arrived in Bornu to weld the Emirate into their Colonial Empire, it should be emphasized that they were confronted by a way of life, whose known and partly recorded past had been flowing on through at least 1100 years of continuous, unbroken and independent national history. During that time the power of the monarchy had risen and fallen in successive waves of power and decline. In the 12th and 13th centuries the first Kanuri florescence occurred in Kanem, northeast of Lake Chad, only to decline in the 14th century and finally beat a forced retreat from the center of their empire into Bornu proper, to the west of the Lake. Here, to the south of the river Yo, they hoped for some safety from the northern raiders which was afforded by the river. The 16th and 17th centuries saw the second emergence of a Kanuri Empire in the Sudan, which, although often neglected by historians of the region, was effective enough to resist the eastward expansion of Songhai at the zenith of its power. Slow decline followed in the 17th and 18th centuries until a near collapse, due to Fulani expansionism at the beginning of the 19th century, could only be avoided by a new dynasty taking over the rule of the kingdom, which maintained itself and the kingdom until Rabeh's desecration of Bornu in 1893. However, even Rabeh was slowly beginning to reorganize the broken kingdom when the British arrived, and it is evident that the complete chaos, conventionally charged to Bornu at the beginning of the 19th century, has been over-emphasized. Forces of re-consolidation were in operation which would have kept the Bornu state in existence, albeit under a new dynasty.

It is evident from an appraisal of Kanuri history that its

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most useful institution, in terms of survival, was the organization of a feudal state. Under the king, the nobility had their own fiefs which validated their status in the state and insured their all-important military cooperation. It was indicated in the chapter that this kind of organization has been used historically in Bornu for incorporating entire tribes into the Kanuri state, if such was desirable.

The major point, however, is the legacy of the state organization which the historical development of Kanuri feudalism has maintained.

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A well ordered and easily expandable war machine for the offensive and defensive policies of the state was a primary result of the feudal organization.

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Once these structural principles were in operation, taxation and a hierarchical political and judicial system became possible and operative over a wide territory.

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The presence of a capital city with a large administrative and military class served as a stimulus for the specialization of labour. This body of people was an ever-ready market for the sale of surplus subsistence produce and a wide range of specialized manufactured materials of local and imported origin, which in turn stimulated trade and the development of the market from the very earliest days of the kingdom.

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Another of the contributory strengths of Kanuri feudalism in terms of survival was its flexibility, that is to say, its ability to expand and contract from the center. As long as the nucleus of a court and a monarch remained, no harm was done to its continued existence. Feudalism is a segmentary corporate structure; if the top remains, including the idea of its centrality and paramount position in the conception of the state, then the expansion and contraction of the state itself bears no relation whatsoever to its survival. Segments may break off, others may join on, but as long as there remains the tangible concept of some-

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642 thing to join on to, then the size of the state is merely an expression
of the administrative and military capacities of the government at any
given time in its history, in relation to the same factors amongst its
neighbour states.

Chapter III

[p. 34]

The Colonial Period

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The particular events and social changes occurring in Bornu during the last half century must be viewed as taking place within the larger setting of the British colonial regime of Northern Nigeria. For our present purposes, it is sufficient to note that during this period an English colonial administration had been grafted onto the indigenous social systems of the Northern Region through the use of what has come⁽¹⁾ to be called "indirect rule". This conjunction of the African social systems under the subordination of colonial rule has resulted in expanding trade, the inception of western education, the development of a native civil service, increased contact with other tribal groups, and a network of modern roads and means of communication. Now these changes and the policy of "indirect rule" have affected Bornu is the concern of the present chapter.

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Before the British arrived in Bornu, the French had already defeated and killed Rabah and his son. They then re-instated the Kanuri Shehu, Sanda Kura, and subsequently his younger brother Garbai. These two ruled from Dikwa, Rabah's old capital, which at the turn of the century was considered to be in French territory. The French allowed the Kanuri rulers to institute any system of political organization they wished as long as they could deliver 80,000 Maria Theresa dollars per annum to the French as tribute. In 1902, Governor Lugard sent Captain Morland to Bornu and it is reported that the Captain "... sent for Garbai and formally installed him as Shehu of British Bornu at Kuka."⁽²⁾

- (1) See Lugard, F.D. (Sir) The Dual Mandate, (London) 1929; Cook, A.W. British Enterprise in Nigeria, (Philadelphia) 1943; Burns, (Sir) Alan, History of Nigeria, (London) 1955; Coleman, J.S., Nigeria, Background to Nationalism, (California) 1958.
- (2) Annual Report: Bornu Province 1902. In the Provincial Office, Maiduguri, Bornu Province, Nigeria.

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648 Data on how this was accomplished were not available in the public
 643 records of Bornu province. Therefore it can only be assumed (provisionally, until more information becomes available) that the British promise to rebuild Kuka, the old 19th century capital, must have appealed to the Shehu, and/or the French conceded to British demands for the Shehu to be brought to Bornu. Certainly since Britain had claim to Bornu as part of Nigeria from the days of the Chartered Companies (late 19th century), and was making good the claim, it was only logical from their viewpoint that the traditional ruler of Bornu should be allowed to sit on the throne in the area historically connected with his reign. Taking the evidence of the French defeat of Rabeh, and their entry into Bornu with an armed force to defeat and kill his son, plus their establishment of the Shehu, it would seem as if the French from east of Lake Chad were trying to limit British expansion into Bornu by a fait accompli of possession, even though the western Chad basin had been ceded to England in the
 (1)
 councils of European diplomacy. In any event, all this manoeuvring on the part of the French proved of no avail, for it had also been decided in Europe that the Cameroons were to be administered by Germany, and the French soon had to cede even the area south of Lake Chad to that country.

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"The first important step by the new British overlords was the sending out of the fiefholders to live in their fief-ships in 1903 ... These fiefs afterwards evolved into Districts and the most suitable men available were put in charge of them, the Shehu always being consulted in the selection. These men are now Aja or District Headmen. This formed a chain of responsibility in the administration which the size of the Emirate and its small European staff immediately demanded." (2) However

(1) Langer, W.L. The Diplomacy of Imperialism, (New York) p. 131

(2) Annual Report 1909; op. cit.

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648 before the fief developed into Districts it was discovered that a divi-
634 sion of interests was involved between the British authorities and the
643 Shahu. The British were motivated by their own ideas of administration,
i.e. to form "a chain of responsibility" from the local level up through
the Shahu to the Resident, while the Shahu evidently tried to have as
many fiefs created as possible in order that there would be a multitude
of District Heads, thereby increasing the number of offices with which he
could reward his supporters. The matter was settled by the British who
limited the number of districts to a compromise between what they believed
to be the traditional structure, and what they considered to be a workable
arrangement in terms of their own requirements of administering the
Emirate.

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648 When the District Head arrived in his District with his retinue
634 of supporters he found that the local Village Headmen (the Lavan), who
632 were strange to him, were being supported by the British because of their
hereditary claims to village leadership. The British soon discovered
that it had been the policy of the traditional fief-holder "to supplant
(1)
the hereditary headmen by slaves (or followers) of the China." Neverthe-
less, when a new fief-holder took office they conducted investigations to
find who were the pre-British (and usually pre-Babeh) Village Headmen and
proceeded to appoint these people as Village Heads. In following this
policy a political structure was created which utilised two potentially
conflicting principles of social organisation. In appointing District
Heads the personal relationships of upper class leaders to the Shahu was
considered to be the acceptable criteria, while the hereditary claims of
local leaders were considered to be the basis for Village Headships. Thus,

(1) Patterson, J.R. Report on Magumeri District 1920; in Magumeri District
Notebook; Provincial Office, Maiduguri, Bornu Prov. Nigeria.

175 the new District Head going out to his district was confronted with a
648 situation in which he had a territory comprising a group of villages
634 which were to be under his organized administration, and which were at
632 the same time headed by people with whom he had no personal relationships.

Entering into this situation, the District Head responded in several ways. He could try to win the loyalty of the local Village Heads to himself, or conversely some Village Heads, sensing danger in the new situation, might come to the District Head and ask to be "his man." This meant that the District Head had expanded his following to include the Village Head. However, there were obstacles to this simple method of rapprochement. If the Village Head already had a strong functioning relationship to some other "big man" in the Kanuri state who was a powerful person in the post-1900 organization, or if the District Head was anxious to reward his own supporters with lucrative and prestige giving roles,

175 then this method was not too successful. The District Head could also
648 try to manipulate the situation so that the Village Heads who he found
634 the most truculent in accepting his overlordship, were regarded as inefficient, corrupt, or immoral in the eyes of the British, so that they
632 would be deposed and then he could replace them with recruits from among
661 his own following. Thus, in 1919, a British District Officer (D.O.) visiting Magumeri District, was told by Abba Kiari, then District Head of Magumeri, that two of the Village Heads in his District were inefficient and should be deposed. He felt also that because of the proximity of the two towns they should be united under one Village Head, and he offered one of his own followers as the logical candidate for the new appointment. (1)
Finally, the District Head could simply carry on as if the British were

(1) Whitely: Report on Magumeri 1919: in Magumeri District Notebook

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 648 not present and appoint chima gura to live in each village of the Dis-
 634 trict, who would collect taxes, levy fines, and hold judicial hearings,
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 661 i.e. act as Village Headmen even though incumbents for these roles had
 already been appointed by the British. This led to an order by the Res-
 ident of Bornu in 1910 to the effect that no District Head could station
 his men in any of the towns of his District with the exception of his own
 headquarters. However, the provincial records indicate that the chima
 problem plagued the administration right up until the 1930's.

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 648 Besides the structural difficulties which resulted in the
 651 political organization from the colonial contact, a major functional prob-
 631 lem emerged in the area of taxation. By 1904 a tax collection system
 based on assessments made from rough estimates was instituted. Each
 village was assessed as a whole and the money turned into the Government
 (at first the Resident, later the Native Authority Treasury) through the
 District Head of each district. However, the Kanuri pre-British concept
 of taxation persisted long after British attempts to introduce their own
 concepts. The British attempted to introduce the idea that the District
 Head and the Village Heads under him were political functionaries or agents
 whose task it was to collect taxes, and not levy them as well.

[178] Although well known, this idea has not really ever been trans-
 ferred from British culture to Kanuri ideas on tax collection and, as we
 shall see, what amounts to tax levies by local officials in excess of
 government requirements is almost a universal practice in Bornu today.

[166] The British soon found that "extortion" was being used to col-
 lect taxes. Discoveries were made by touring D.O.'s of peasants who would
 complain of excess taxation, or Village Heads whose prerogatives were
 being usurped by a chima, or in extreme cases by the emigration of peasants

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[166] (1)
out of a very highly taxed District. The net result was a high turn over in chiefs both at the District and village level, through the utilization by the British of their powers of deposition of chiefs, and a continuation of Kanuri rather than British concepts of taxation.

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645 (2)
In 1914, a new Resident took over the province and began to strengthen the Emirate political structure at its center. He instituted a Shehu's council with a Wasiri as its head, and issued instructions that no European officer was to give direct instructions to District Heads. All directives were to be made through the Shehu and his council. This council, starting originally with two members, grew steadily in size and function. By the late 1940's it resembled a kind of local cabinet with the Wasiri as its head under the titular headship of the Shehu and with each member having at least one portfolio. That is to say, the members of this Council have come more and more to function as the heads of civil service departments.

All African political organization, both traditional and introduced, was called the Native Administration by Lugard and his followers and the Emirate departments of works, forestry, education, veterinary services, etc., were dubbed the N.A. departments, for that particular Emirate. This distinguished them from the government provincial departments who administered and guided the policies and actions of all the N.A.'s in the province.

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[167] The newly introduced European governmental services demanded some degree of western education and trained clerks from other parts of Nigeria were brought into Bornu to fill the host of small jobs which were necessary to a growing administration.

- (1) In the Mobber, Gaidam, Magumeri and Ngannai District Notebooks, notations have been made throughout the colonial period of complaints by peasants who reported that they had moved from one district to another because of excessive taxation.
- (2) In 1914, the British swiftly and with little opposition took over the German Cameroons, half of which were ceded to them after the War.

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175 necessary to a growing administration. In Bornu, a provincial school
 271 was set up in Maiduguri in 1915 with eleven pupils which taught Hausa
 (1) and Kanuri (using English script) and arithmetic. Muslim religious
 knowledge and Arabic were also made part of the curriculum, while Eng-
 lish did not come in until somewhat later. By 1916 there were 74 pu-
 pils all drawn from the ranks of the aristocracy.

According to the opinion of contemporary officials who have
 worked in several areas of northern Nigeria, European education in Bor-
 nu is far behind that of any other provinces in the region. Certainly
 most of the schools that can be seen today are usually less than 10
 years old, so that education in the European sense of the word has
 only recently been made available in any appreciable extent to the
 people of Bornu. Today each District has at least one small elemen-
 tary school and the provincial secondary school has been enlarged.

175 This dearth of western educated personnel has brought to Bornu many
 271 outsiders to fill the necessary jobs which the European and his record-
 167 keeping culture and technology require. Due to over-population and
 a much longer tradition of western education in their own area, a
 large number of these have been Ibo people from southeast Nigeria.

175 In 1907 the British plan to rebuild the old 19th century
 361 capital of Kuka was abandoned due to the extreme aridity of the local
 (132) area, and the capital was henceforth situated at Maiduguri on the Alo
 river basin. Kuka soon dwindled in size and became a rural village.

175 On the other hand, the new capital which had previously had a fairly
 369 large market could not produce enough grain to feed the suddenly ex-
 433 panded population which flowed in when it became the center of the
 178 Emirate. It was therefore found necessary from 1907 to 1914 to force

(1) Annual Report Bornu Province; 1915

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the Districts adjacent to the new capital to take turns bringing in (1) to Maiduguri approximately 10 tons of millet per week in excess of the amount usually brought to market. This was to ensure that the expanded urban population might have enough grain available for sale to meet its needs. In a similar but less spectacular manner each District headquarters became an expanded market town when the fief-holders came there to live bringing with them their large following and specialised needs. Thus inadvertently and concomitantly to the political reorganisation which the British carried on, an economic [565] readjustment was made. The consumptive needs of the large upper class which moved to Maiduguri, and the smaller enclaves of this same class which had moved out to the Districts had to be satisfied. That is to say, new nuclei of consumption were created in the Kanuri state [491] while others were abandoned or made smaller. Distributive channels of consumption and production developed in response to these changes in the settlement patterns of the non-productive upper class and roads were built connecting the District capital to Maiduguri and linking one District capital to another.

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In other aspects of economic activity, the British quite strenuously put down the slave trade and helped promote the growth of (2) trade from Bornu towards the west (Kano) and south. This soon brought the Bornu-Tripoli trade to a sad end, and Bornu's primary source of external trade came from its position in Nigeria and the west coast of Africa. At first, gum arabic and skins formed the major export

- (1) The Annual Report for 1907 gives the figure as 800 ax (one ax is approximately equal to 25 lbs).
- (2) An ex-slave trader in Bornu reported that his last raid had been conducted circa 1921-2. He gave up the trade because of the strong opposition from the European authorities which made the trade lucrative but dangerous.

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439 items while cloth was the largest import. However from 1925 on-
wards, groundnuts increased in importance as an export crop. The
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436 government introduced a sterling coin currency which slowly replaced
the Maria Theresa dollar as the most generally accepted medium of
exchange. In the annual report of 1915 there was a complaint by the
Resident of Bornu that the European trading companies were not giv-
ing currency for purchases but were paying for goods in cloth which
the native middlemen were then selling, sometimes at a loss, in order
to obtain cash. This seems to indicate that by 1915 currency was in
universal demand, and that barter trade was dying out. After some
pressure by the government the European traders dropped their bar-
tering practices and began to use the present system of cash credit.
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441 The Companies advanced credit to a limited number of middlemen who
452 then bought company goods for resale at local markets, and/or used
the money to purchase export items for sale to the credit-advancing
175 Company. At first the African traders dealing with the Companies
441 were few and their volume not impressive. The desire of the Europe-
452 ans to expand trading volume, plus the willingness and ability of
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[167] Levantine traders to take larger amounts of credit, soon encouraged
a small but very active minority of Arab speaking traders from North
Africa, the Near East and the Sudan to enter Bornu. These acted as
middlemen between the European trading Companies and the more numer-
ous African traders. The result was that a small group of Arab-
speaking traders were established in Maiduguri who absorbed a large
proportion of the available credit from the European Companies and
filtered it, second-hand as it were, into the economy of Bornu.

The European trade in Bornu, like that of many parts of

175 The European trade in Bornu, like that of many
 441 parts of
 452 West Africa, developed a distinctive quality which arose primarily 43.
 as a result of the dearth of available excess capital at the local
 level which could be utilized for trade. For this reason competition
 among the European traders involved a strong competition in the
 financing of traders as well as the more usual aspects of commerce,
 like price, quality and sole distributorships. Although the major
 part of this competition went on between Europeans for the Arab
 speaking traders it also served as a stimulus in expanding the num-
 ber of traders in the native population.

175 The other relatively distinctive feature of the Bornu
 439 trade was the small number of Companies which participated in it at
 the European level. By the early 1920's almost the entire trade of
 Bornu to and from western Europe was handled by five or six large
 firms. Bauer has shown how this paucity was not only a commercial
 development but was encouraged by government who found it easier to
 deal with a few well established firms rather than a number of small
 (1)
 ones.

175 The outside influences coming into Bornu after 1900 were
 177 thus of a two pronged variety which set up various responses in the
 648 political and economic spheres of local life. Up until the second
 world war, the main concern of the colonial official was to make the
 policy of indirect rule work, while always trying to force a more
 comprehensive understanding and conformity to the general values and
 standards of English culture. The theme for all annual reports run-
 ning from circa 1914 to circa 1944 can be best expressed in the oft
 repeated phrase "steady progress." Each year tax collections were a
little better, a few more students were attending the provincial

(1) Bauer P.F. West African Trade: (Cambridge University Press)
 1954, pp. 150-156.

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177 schools, a few more roads were built or improved and once in a while

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extended, local European trading Companies reported "steady progress"

in business volume, living conditions in the province for European staff "steadily improved", medical facilities "steadily expanded" and so on. Certainly there always seemed to be a rather high turn over in chiefs, but this came to be part of the expected regularity of life in Bornu.

What in effect had occurred was an adjustment. The British administration had set up the organisation of its indirect rule and the task of each new Resident Officer in Bornu was to implement Lord Lugard's policies to the best of his abilities. The general methods of resistance to the English administration were well known by both the Kanuri and the English and no jarring outside influence entered the scene to upset the gentlemanly tag-of-war which characterized the colonial contacts as a kind of game in which everyone knew the rules and the conditions of play, while the over-all techniques of the players did not change much through time.

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How the "game" was played at the political level can be seen in the following example of the deposition of a chief, taken from the provincial records at Maiduguri, concerning the District Head of Mobber between 1929 and 1931. Mobber District is in the extreme northeast of Bornu Emirate on the border between Nigeria and French West Africa. Its relative isolation from British surveillance contributed to the maintenance of officially prohibited practices well into the late 1920's.

During 1929, a touring officer (British) reported that

(1) c.f. Mobber District File; Provincial Office, Maiduguri.

175 During 1929, a touring officer (British)
 648 reported that 45.
 634 there were indications of widespread "extortion" of the peasants of
 632 Mobber District by the District Head and his chimas. In May of 1930,
 Mr. Reed, an A.D.O., was sent up to Mobber to investigate the situa-
 tion. He reported that the District Head had stationed his chimas in
 many of the towns of the District. These subalterns were exercising
 judicial authority, administering whippings and raising levies for
 themselves and the District Head. The latter when questioned admit-
 ted that he was operating through chimas but complained that the
Lavans (traditional Village Heads) were for the most part hostile to
 him. Mr. Reed told the District Head to abolish the chima system and
 tour himself. The District Head pleaded that he needed to have his
 own followers in the outer towns of his District to maintain order.
 The A.D.O. agreed and said he would return in about a month's time
 to see if the reforms had been carried out. On the return of Mr.
 Reed in June the situation had not changed appreciably and the A.D.O.
 arrested five of the most complained against chimas (by the villagers
 and Village Heads of the "chima's town") and took them to Maiduguri
 for hearings on the matter.

175 On July 7th, 1930, the Shehu, during an interview with
 648 the Resident, mentioned that the District Head of Mobber had request-
 634 ed the removal of the Mobber District judge on the grounds of ignor-
 643 ance and inefficiency. Upon questioning, the Shehu advanced the
 692 opinion that this request might be due to bad feeling between the
 District Head and the Alkali (judge). In his turn, the Resident
 opined that it might more particularly be the case that the judge
 disapproved of the District Head's illegal use of chimas and raising
 of personal tax levies.

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In another meeting between the Shehu and the Resident later that month, the Mobber matter was brought up again and the Shehu agreed that things did not seem to be going too well in Mobber. On the 14th of August, the Shehu suggested to the Resident when the Mobber misdemeanours were mentioned that the Mobber peasants were an extremely difficult group to manage and possibly chimas might be required for the proper administration of the District. At the end of August the Shehu requested of the Resident that the five men who had been arrested by A.D.O. Head be sent back to their homes. The Resident agreed in principle, but felt that the one who had beaten a villager should be kept in Maiduguri for a little longer yet. He added that the men could be sent back to their homes only if the Shehu would take full responsibility for any further trouble in the Mobber area.

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In September and again in October of 1930, A.D.O. Head was sent up to check the situation in Mobber District. The chimas were operating as before and the District Head was reported as being "not respectful" to the British officer on tour. Only one change had occurred. An entire village area appeared to have been relinquished by the District Head since one of the Shehu's sons had been appointed its Lavan (Village Head) by the Waziri.

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Several months later in February 1931, the District Head of Mobber appeared in Maiduguri for an annual meeting and was warned by the Resident that "unless considerable improvement was shown he would be dismissed." From this point on, there were very few items in the Mobber District file in which the "Mobber case" was actually referred to. One short item tells of a rumour picked up by a junior officer to the effect that the District Head of Mobber was a favor-

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ite of the Shehu and was married to a daughter of the Wasiri (head of the Shehu's council). By the end of 1931 the matter began to congeal. The D. O. of Bornu Emirate wrote a note to the Resident claiming that the time had come to dispose of the District Head of Mobber since he obviously would not reform, and then suggested several names as replacements. In early 1932 the matter was mentioned briefly in a report to the Secretary of the Northern Provinces from the Resident of Bornu. It stated that "the Shehu and Council have found it necessary to depose the District Head of Mobber." Several people were nominated by the D. O. and by the Council for the replacement and the matter was closed when a man suggested by the Council was mentioned in reports as the new District Head of Mobber.

The British administrators had tried to persuade the District Head of Mobber for two years to stop using his own system of political organization and work through the Village Heads, i.e., the political structure recognized by themselves. His inability to comply finally brought about his removal. But the entire push and pull of the deposition did not materially disturb relations between the British and the political leadership of Bornu.

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Certainly the case hints at a well-organized Kanuri political system operating independently of the one formally recognized by the British. However, it also illustrates the formalized and balanced relationship which existed between the Resident and the Shehu. The Resident patiently tried to press forward with his own conception of government, while the Shehu was at the same time attempting to mollify English demands in order that the Emirate political organization could be maintained unmolested. The unsettling feature of the relations between the Kanuri and the English

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648 political organization was the activities of the touring officer who might, by contacting local complaints, discover a necessity for reform which could bring British power into play in the Bornu political structure.

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This relatively stable accommodation of the 1930's revealed, by such examples as the Mobbar case, has been upset by recent events in the post World War II period. The rapid rise in the price paid for groundnuts (the cash crop) from £3 to £11 per ton in 1946 caused the Resident to report "we are witnessing an economic change . . . possibly a revolution . . . for the farmer is now in command of a ready supply of cash . . . and for the first time the peasant has in his hands more money than he knows how to spend." ⁽¹⁾ Again in 1947 he comments, "money is pouring into the hands of the people and there is nothing for them to spend it on . . . Money is available in great quantity for development but we can do little for want of staff and materials." ⁽²⁾ The post-war boom aided and abetted by the mastering out pay of the returning soldiers had hit Bornu unprepared. ⁽³⁾

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In actual fact, there was not so much confusion on the part of the peasant over what to do with his new found wealth as there was on the part of the administration as to what to do with theirs. The trading companies quickly expanded both import and export facilities to meet the rapid increase in income and consumption. There is no indication of inability to spend money either in the published figures of Nigerian commerce, or in the memories of contemporaries.

(1) Annual Report Bornu Province, 1946

(2) Annual Report Bornu Province, 1947

(3) Pedlar, P.J. A Study of Income and Expenditure in Northern Nigeria, in Africa 18, 259-271, 1948.

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433 every peasants whose only reaction to the boom was to plant cash
648 crops and buy more of the things that they always wanted to buy,
especially around harvest time. However, the entire outlook and
organisation of the administration had been built up in the slow,
"steady" years between the war and now a "development" program was
needed in order to plan for and dispense the large sums of money
suddenly becoming available at the local level. Before long, new
government buildings, schools, medical dispensaries and local N.A.
[511] salaries were going up. In Maiduguri, bicycles, radios, tin roofs
on houses, motor cars and trucks began to be common sights and needs.

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619 On the national scene, Nigerian independence was a new
648 wind blowing up from the south that eventually came to Bornu and
brought her leaders into closer contact with the emerging political
parties of Nigeria. Radios and ease of travel, even to those well
out in the "bush", brought the people of Bornu into closer contact
not only with the rest of Bornu, but into a growing unity of senti-
ments and even language and culture with the entire Muslim popula-
177 tion of Northern Nigeria. Since 1950 a movie theater in Maiduguri
has brought the American cowboy as well as an immediate perception
of many other aspects of American and European life into the heart
of Bornu, so that to many of the people there we in North America
are not as strange to them as they and their culture are to us.

3: Cohen E-4, 5 (1956-1957) 1980

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PART 2

Interpersonal Relations

[P 49-A]

Chapter IV

[p.50]

Kinship and Interpersonal Relations

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571 This chapter describes the forms of behaviour which pattern the relationships of people in their day to day lives in Bornu. The model for these patterns is the norm of behaviour governing kinship relations. It should be noted that this is not a theoretical statement but an empirical one which the evidence of this chapter, and those to follow, attempts to bear out.

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Kinship Terminology

601 In the Kanuri language kinship is referred to as dur.

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611 This is a general term that includes ego's father's and mother's consanguinal relations. The system is bilateral in the sense that ego recognizes his descent from, and relation to, two descent systems reckoned through the father and mother of his own father and mother. Thus, ego has his Fa-Mo and Mo-Fa as members of his consanguinal kin group. Dur bube (kin of the blood) refers to father's relatives, and dur chambe (kin of the milk) is the term for mother's relatives.
601 The terminology is generational in the sense that all generation levels can be distinguished and classificatory in the sense that one or two terms serve to delineate all of ego's relations at any one generation level, except the first ascendant. At the first ascendant generation parent terms are extended to parents' siblings with suffixes added to delineate junior and senior and there are separate terms for Mo-Bro and Fa-Sis.

601 Affinal relations are divided into two categories. The

602 first term, kasai (senior in-laws) refers to ego's spouses's relatives

(1) See the appendix to this chapter for Kinship diagrams and a table of Kinship terminology.

601 of the first ascendant generation and is sometimes extended to
 602 spouse's senior siblings, real and classificatory. The second term
tiu (junior in-laws) refers to spouse's collaterals and descendant
 generation kin members. The terms kasai and tiu can be used to ad-
 dress all relations by marriage if the speaker so desires. Thus,
 ego's daughter's husband can be a tiu and the father of this person
 can be addressed as kasai. Or again a sibling's spouse can be ad-
 dressed as tiu and the parents of this person are kasai. Consan-
 guinal terms are used for spouses of parents' collaterals and a
 spouse's grandparents are given the same term as own grandparents.
 However, dur does not apply to affines of any kind unless there has
 been a nyia durbe (kin marriage), i.e. a cousin marriage.

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For reasons of residence, inheritance and legal respon-
 sibility, ties with the father's and mother's kin are of a different
 kind. The high proportion of patrilocal marriages as well as the
 differential division of inheritance as between males and females on
 the one hand and agnatic and uterine kin on the other in Maliki law
 tends to emphasize the father's agnatic group as the more important.
 It is also the agnatic kin of the father who go to court to support
 ego and who help him to pay fines.

601 Terms of reference are most generally formed from the
 [193] terms of address by adding the possessive pronoun at the end of the
 word. Thus ya (mother) can be yanyi (my mother) or yanua (your
 [603] mother) or yanu (his/her mother). Due to the reciprocal nature of
 the joking relationship between grandparent and grandchild, the term
 of address (grandparent speaking) is kaka, and is used reciprocally,
 while the differentiated term for grandchild (dico) is used primarily
 (1) Burton, P.H.: Maliki Law, (London) 1914, pp. 373-397.

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as a term of reference. The terms given in the appendix for full and half-siblings are only very rarely used as terms of reference, and never in addressing the person involved. The polite and proper behaviour being the use of sibling terms, and if finer distinctions become necessary, the relationship is referred to descriptively, a very common practice in referring to kinship relations. Informants claimed that the "real" term for ego's father's other wives is ya chintu (far mother) and its reciprocal is tada chintu (far child, male). However, the term is considered derogatory, even in reference, and would only be utilized if there were well developed antagonism between the actors. Ego, in order to be polite, should use the terms of reference and address for Fa-Sis, when speaking of or to his father's other wives. On the other hand, these latter women will never speak of ego as tadanyi (my child, male) as the real Fa-Sis might easily do, but refer to ego as tada kwanyi (my husband's child). The only time the rule is broken is when ego's mother dies and he is adopted by one of his mother's co-wives. Then she is called either ya (mother) or the Fa-Sis term is kept in use, and ego may now be referred to as tadanyi (my male child) by his father's other wife. The same thing occurs between ego and his mother's other husbands besides ego's father. There are reciprocal terms which are derogatory and indicate bad feeling between the parties if they are used - aba chintu (far father) and again tada chintu (far child, male) - whereas rawa (Mo-Bro) is the polite term unless ego wishes to insult his mother's husband. The reciprocally polite term is tada kamanyi (my wife's child, male) or tada karamanyi (my Yo-sibling's male child).

It has been mentioned that siblings rather than use the

601 available terminology which distinguishes their actual biological 53.
relationship refer back to relatives they have in common when describing or referring to the relationship, pointing out (if necessary) that their mothers' or fathers' are not the same person. This is part of a more general and commonly utilised rule of reference when speaking of kinship relations. In order to specify exactly what relationship exists between himself and some other person an individual most often gives the nearest common relative and then explains his own and the other person's relationship to the common relative. Thus an informant explains that he and his cross or parallel cousin have kakande tite (the same grandparent).

Behaviour Norms

602 The behaviour norms associated with the kinship organisation are classified into four overlapping categories. In Kanuri these are called mungu (shame or shame-avoidance), barsun (respect or discipline-respect), suli (joking) and munkan (friendship or fondness). Table I summarises the manner in which these norms are distributed among three classes each of consanguinal and affinal kin. (1)

- [115] (1) The information was obtained from 44 Kanuri males of Maiduguri, ranging across all class strata but more heavily representative of the lower classes. They responded to questions about their behaviour towards 33 different kin relations. The interviewer was instructed to ask subjects how they acted towards each of the relatives in question. In the opinion of the field assistant this was in fact the major consideration in the responses given to his questions. This seems to be corroborated when the questionnaire material is compared to qualitative data gathered independently. Other indications that the real rather than ideal culture is being reported are given by the blanks in the original notebooks when informants refused to answer. Their reasons for not responding were written down by the field assistant. In all cases, refusals were due to the subjects not having that particular relative. This supports the notion that informants were responding in reference to their actual behaviour towards the relative being asked about. However, such conclusions must not be taken too far for it is inconceivable that ideal patterns of behaviour had no effect on the responses of
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TABLE I

602 Ego's Responses to Categories of Relatives Expressed as
A Percentage of his Total Response to the
Category*

**	Par. & Par-Coll	Ego's Coll	O/Par & O/O/Par	Affines of Par- Coll	Senior in-laws	Junior in-laws
shame	48.8	5.8	0	26.1	89.8	14.6
respect	82.4	33.8	14.9	97.5	96.4	42.1
joking	1.9	2.4	100.0	0	2.3	66.0
friendship	12.9	76.4	0	7.0	16.6	26.6
total number of responses	262	233	87	137	168	233

* The figures are percentages of the total response; thus 48.8% of the 262 responses given to parents and parents' collaterals were nungu (shame). They have been reduced to percentages in order to make them comparable with other columns in which total responses add up to different numbers.

** Par. = Parents; Coll. = Collaterals.

Shame (nungu)

Nungu is a general category of behaviour which describes relationships that are restricted in some way by rule. Under this general rubric there are two distinct kinds of action which hold for two different categories of relatives. Firstly, shame-avoidance

informants, especially in the cases of extreme aberrancy (if any such existed). Consequently in order to be as conservative as possible, it would be wise to conclude that the questionnaire material represents an attempt to obtain a picture of real kinship behaviour, which has most likely had its sharply deviant content rounded off by the ideal patterns of the culture.

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602 Firstly, shame-avoidance
264 whose criterion is whether or not the incumbents may eat food together or in the presence of one another, and secondly, shame-respect wherein food may be shared but ego must sit with eyes down-cast and only the most necessary conversation passes between the parties. As a general rule the first holds between affines, although Table I illustrates the variability in this respect, and the second holds among consanguinal kin. There is a strong shame-avoidance relation between ego and his senior in-laws (kisai); that is to say he will not eat in their presence, and he will not enter a hut alone with any of his female kisai unless he has been in the habit (1) of doing any of these before marriage. This latter refers to the case of a preferential cousin marriage or marriage with the daughter of a close friend. A polite person (male speaking) would manifest signs of shame-avoidance behaviour, no matter what his previous relationship with his future father-in-law, around the time of the marriage. It is then up to the in-law in question to remind him of their prior relationship and to persuade him that there should be no sungu between them now that they are son-in-law and father-in-law to one another.

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Ideally, ego should show shame-avoidance in the presence of his wife when they are in public and only the most necessary conversation should pass between them. After many years of marriage or in the case of a barren marriage depending on the wishes of the couple involved, much of the formality of shame-avoidance (except

(1) An upper class informant claimed that a man should never even visit his in-laws alone but should always go in the company of friends.

593 eating together) is dropped and the husband and wife often refer to each other by sibling terms.

593 In some cases, more often among the upper classes, if
565 a mother and/or father are very young at the time of their first child, a mutual shame-avoidance should obtain between the parents [842] and this child. Informants who knew of this custom (many lower class [853] informants denied its existence) claimed that in such a case the young mother must be pushed and cajoled into giving her breast to the infant because she feels great shame in having given birth so early in her life. However, as soon as the parents have grown up somewhat and taken their place as adult members of the community, the shame-avoidance between them and their first-born dwindles to the more usual shame-respect held between children and their parents.

571 As indicated above, shame(nungu) is a general category which refers to restrictions on behaviour in interpersonal relations. In this sense it is generalised to include all good, proper [577] and moral conduct, both in and out of the kinship system. An individual should feel some nungu whenever he approaches a woman in public and she should keep her eyes to the ground, her head covered, [834] if possible, and only the most necessary conversation should pass

576 between them. These taboos are more stringently practised by members of the upper classes, although no man, regardless of class [565] ever eats with a woman. All respect behaviour between the lower [264] classes and their social superiors implies some nungu. Thus in the law court an individual must keep his head uncovered and bent down (a woman keeps her head covered and originally spoke through a window from another room), and remain on his knees with feet tucked under his robe and his knees forward. Or again, shoes must be re-

576 moved in the presence of social superiors, and if the gap between them is great shoes are removed even when passing in front of the superior's compound. A person who continually avoids or breaks moral rules and rules of etiquette and good conduct is described as nungu ba (having no shame) or shim ngundu (narrow eyes) - the latter from the saying "a man of narrow eyes has no shame."

Respect (b̄arsum)

571 Respect (b̄arsum) is a general category of behaviour in interpersonal relations which has to do with the response to power and authority. It ranges from shame-respect, described above, to friendship-respect in which there may be a more affective relationship that involves discipline and a superior-subordinate relation along with the possibility of partial intimacy depending upon factors of personality, age, generation, and sex differences of the actors.

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604 Generally speaking the shame-respect relation is most stringently practised with own parents, being transferred to parents' siblings if any of these has taken on the parent's role toward ego. There is a significant difference in shame and friendship responses given to parents and to their collaterals. In the table below respect responses are not indicated because all informants gave a b̄arsum response to own parents and parents' collaterals.

TABLE II

Ego's Responses to Categories of Relatives Expressed as a Percentage of his Total Responses to the Category

	<u>shame</u>	<u>friendship</u>
own parents	99.5	0
pat. coll. (Parent's)	23.8	20.4
mat. coll. (Parent's)	23.2	20.2

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In qualitative terms the table indicates that there is a relaxation of the shame-respect relation between ego and his parent's generation members of either sex as ego moves outward from own parents to their collaterals. One informant expressed the difference in behaviour towards own parents and their collaterals in the following manner:

If I have matters to discuss about needing things, I will talk to my father; but if I wish to talk about marrying a girl - I will not talk to my father or my mother - there is shame in this - I will talk to my abagana (Fa-Yo-Bro) or my abakura (Fa-Ol-Bro) if I have one - then I will tell to my sister or my brother (real or classificatory) or my friends to go and tell my father and mother for me. I must never talk directly to my father and my mother about anything about my marriage.

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After a marriage is joined any trouble between a man and his wife should ideally never get back to a man's parents if the man and his wife are not of the same family. However, such matters can usually be arranged through intermediaries.

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There is a respect relationship between a husband's parents and his wife's parents, with tradition leaning over on the side of the wife's parents as to who receives more respect. That is to say, tradition directs that the bride's kindred are in a higher social status position than the groom's. However, the comparative social position of the two families in the society at large is a very real consideration in this matter. This respect relation overlaps into shame avoidance between the in-laws of opposite sex.

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There is a variable discipline-respect relationship between ego and his older siblings of the same sex depending upon age disparity, presence or absence of real or adopted parents, and consideration of power and authority. If an older brother has taken

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593 over the leadership of the compound then for all intents and purposes the older brother must be treated by his younger siblings in a very similar manner to a parent. If the age disparity is not very great then the situation may be ameliorated although here [592] personality factors may enter into the situation. In one case of male twins the father had died, and because of a dominance-submission interaction between the two men, the second born but dominant twin had become the accepted head of the compound. Later when the submissive twin left to form his own compound nearby, he remained in close economic subordination to his brother.

Many informants felt that the discipline-respect relation of junior and senior siblings, real and classificatory, was at best a tenuous one, especially between males. The following example illustrates how culture contact can operate to increase the fragility of the sibling relationship. An informant who was employed by the N.A. obtained a job for his Pa-Bro-So as his assistant in the bush. The senior in the relationship was finding it extremely difficult to make the junior do any work, or take any instructions seriously. The junior complained privately that he was being mistreated and poorly used by the senior, who he said was not giving him enough to eat. Finally the relationship was severed and the junior (classifi-

593 catory) sibling left to go to the provincial capital. These difficulties were accentuated by the differences in remuneration 465 patterning between European and Kanuri cultures. The senior had been getting monthly pay and an allowance for his sibling assistant which he turned over to the boy. The youngster promptly spent the money and expected to be supported all through the rest of the month

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593 by his senior sibling in return for services rendered. The senior
465 who had been on monthly salary for several years felt strongly that his junior sibling should learn to manage by the month. The result was the boy's refusal to obey his senior's commands and the eventual break-up of the relationship.

593 In the questionnaire material there is a slight drop in
604 shame responses towards elder siblings (not significant statistically) and a significant drop in respect responses when the relationship is compared to ego's relations to parent's collaterals. The figures are given in the following Table: R - response; N-R - number of responses which were different per subject for that category.

TABLE III

Responses to Older Siblings and Parents' Collaterals
(no difference between patri- and matri-kin)

	Shame		Respect		Friendship	
	R	N-R	R	N-R	R	N-R
older siblings	16	61	67	10	41	34
par. collaterals	21	67	86	2	16	72
sig. level			.01		.01	

(The chi-square test was used here. For the theoretical validity of its use with small numbers see: Lewis, D. and Burke, C.J. The Use and Misuse of the Chi-Square Test, in the Psychological Bulletin, 46, pp.433-489, 1949; and Snedecor, G.W., Statistical Methods, p. 169, 1940.)

571 The indication that bársun is regarded primarily as a norm governing the behaviour by a subordinate to a superior rather than as a descriptive term for the relationship is illustrated in the following table which compares ego's responses on either side of a

571 junior-senior relationship. The Ol-Sis-Hu and Wi-Yo-Bro have a

607 reciprocal joking relationship with one another. However, the junior in the situation must pay respect(nona), or give respect (bársun) to the senior, even though their traditionally formalized inter-

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action is one of reciprocal joking. The joking itself is related to the respect behaviour. The older or senior member (Ol-Sis-Hu) must always joke with the younger or junior (Wi-Yo-Bro) saying he will obtain either a spouse or a sexual partner for the latter. And this is an essential aspect of barsum; the senior must give something in return for the subservience he receives.

TABLE IV

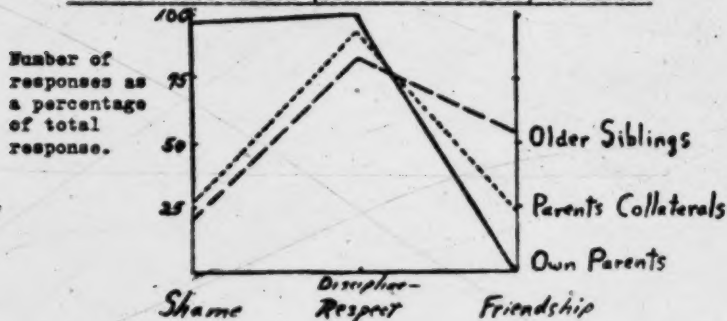
Responses to Ol-Sis-Hu and Wi-Yo-Bro

	Respect		Joking	
	R	N-R	R	N-R
Ol-Sis-Hu	36	5	35	6
Wi-Yo-Bro	4	36	37	3
sig. level	.01		-	

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It is now possible to make a more summary comment about the nature of the barsum behaviour norm in the kinship system. It can be said to range on a continuum from shame-respect through discipline-respect to friendship-discipline-respect, represented by three categories of relatives (a) own parents, (b) parent's collaterals, and (c) older siblings. Any of these who assume the own-parents role in relation to ego takes over the expected behaviour

GRAPH TO SHOW BERSUM (DISCIPLINE-RESPECT) CONTINUUM



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602 from ego necessarily. It was noted that the behaviour is a response to power and authority and is non-reciprocal. This means that bársun is non-reciprocal, not the relationship in which it obtains. Respect ideally moves from junior to senior in a relationship, but as we shall see respect (bársun) must be cultivated if it is to flourish.

571 Beyond the operative limits of the kinship system, bársun is the essential quality of all relationships in the society which involve power and authority. If the relationship is of a master-servant variety then the subordinate gives bársun to the superior while the superior will totally or partially feed, clothe, house and even obtain a wife for the subordinate (i.e. help with the bride-wealth, or even in some cases find a girl for him). The superior in such a relationship is often referred to as abanjima (father of the house) especially when the subordinate lives in or near the compound of his superior and the superior refers to the subordinate as his tada njima (child of the house).

571 To a lesser extent the bársun relationship is imbedded
576 in the etiquette system of Kanuri greeting customs. This is called nona which means paying-one's-respects-to a superior. Here, although the bársun is only momentary, it symbolizes and validates status differences in Kanuri social structure. The rule is simply this: a high status person never goes to call on or greet a lower status person. By following the reverse order, that is the lower status person always calling on or greeting the higher status person, respect is delivered in the proper direction and the lower status individual indicates his recognition of the power and auth-

571 ority of the superior in the society as a whole, thereby validating
576 the status hierarchy of the social structure.

571 In terms of the present analysis bärzüm is such an essential quality in the fabric of Kanuri interpersonal relations that it bears closer scrutiny. To do this we can use the method of preposition being followed here and return to the kinship system working out from there to the wider society. The content of the bärzüm relationship includes a sense of mutual obligation partially symbolized by the Kanuri concept of "trust" (aman). It is only partial because aman as we shall see has an affective connotation not necessarily implied in the bärzüm relationship.

602 In the questionnaire results, no differences were obtained from informants as to their behaviour towards patrilineal as compared with matrilineal kin. However, the interviewer also asked the respondents which kin they felt more aman with. In this case a definite discrimination between the descent groups was asked for and the answer was unequivocally in favour of the patrilineal group. The solution to the problem lies in the nature of the word aman (trust). It is not a unidimensional term implying only one kind of attitude, but subsumes within it several different kinds of trust, and it depends upon how the question is phrased which descent group will get the comparatively greater amount of aman in the individual's judgment. If the question is asked barely, with no indication or hypothetical case which might refer to loans or credit or emotional factors, the answer comes back quickly (and this is universal for all strata of society) that there is more aman with the patrilineal group. The reasons given for this choice are also

602 elicited with little difficulty:

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[683]

It is the father's family that is responsible for the dia (blood-money, compensation to a non-group member and his group for physical injuries or death brought about by the activity of own group members), they will support you if you get into trouble, it is from them that you get your property, if you marry and have no money, they will collect it for you, and you don't have to pay it back, but you will help them when asked for other people in the family - they are the mai durbe (king of the families).

Upper class members made the following generalization in their statements about the father's family: they felt that the great utility of the patrilineal group is its readiness to support an individual member when he is in trouble, and of course its eventual material use to him in terms of property.

When informants were asked at some other time about the matrilineal kin group without any reference to the father's family and in the context of a conversation having to do with loans and credit, the answer was similar to the following given by a small hamlet farmer:

Oh yes, for these things (credit) you must go to your mother's family, they will not refuse you anything, for they feel for you like a mother feels for her child.

Upper class members observed similarly that if summa kalewa (if all was well) then people like their mother's family better, it is more

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affectionate. They also felt that it might be easier to borrow money from the matrilineal groups but were not as unanimous in this respect as the lower class member (neither class was completely unanimous).

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In answer to questions about jealousy (kandult) differences, all informants agreed that there was much more of this among the patrilineal group. One informant expanded this as follows:

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If you try to take kare (possessions, property, material wealth) from your father's family as a loan, or for any purpose at all, then they feel that perhaps they will not get it back, and you are trying to get some of the family (pat.) property which by the rules of inheritance is not supposed to come to you, but go to someone else. But the mother's family like you very much, they will give you things, and if you promise to pay back a loan from them they will trust you and wait patiently.

[828]

Informants also knew that personality entered into the question, and were always ready to qualify these generalizations about the descent groups with a story, whose moral indicated that a kind and generous man was always so no matter what kind of a kinsman he was, or whether or not he was a kinsman at all.

Thus, leaving aside personality differences, there are two basic kinds of aman (trust), one for each descent group. The patrilineal aman defines the mutual obligations which members of the group experience as members, in the face of non-members, i.e. society at large. For this group aman also means source of my past, present and future, my inheritance, in every sense of the word. An individual has aman with the patrilineal group because they give him much of his social and material security as a human being in society. They will stand behind him in times of trouble and they will ensure that he has the necessary objects with which to sustain his social existence (land, a house, tools, a wife, political membership in the State). Ego can appeal to this group for help; threaten a Kanuri and he immediately thinks of the aman he has with his patrilineal group which he can invoke to meet any oncoming danger. Inheritance is tied into the same concept, for it is the insurance for the individual's future sustenance and material place in the social order. It gives time-depth and perpetuity to his aman with the patrilineal group.

The aman with the matrilineal group (to which Smith refers

171 The aman with the matrilateral group (to which 66.
602 (1) Smith refers
for the Hausa) is a variety of mutual risk-sharing based on affection
and the much more limited scope for conflict found in this less complex
relational system.

602 On the face of it, the distinctions within the descent sys-
433 tem would seem to have much significance for the analysis of commercial
growth in Bornu. If there is more and easier credit facilities in the
interpersonal relationships of the matrilateral group, it would seem as
if this might be a useful model of organisation for future economic
development, which requires credit and loans.

602 A swift look in any direction at functioning social relations
571 in Kanuri society is enough to dispel such a theory. And the answer is
(433) quite simple but important. In the last analysis trust based merely on
affection and lack of conflicting interests is not adequate to the task
of maintaining the complex interrelationships necessary for the contin-
uity of social life. To obtain a workable social organisation of any
kind requires power and authority and discipline, and these are patent-
ly scarce in the matrilateral structure, or at least much less inten-
sified, while they are key aspects of the patrilateral system. Besides
this, indeed as an integral part of it, there is the more fundamental
distinction of territoriality. Although aman of an affective nature
which can involve potential risk-sharing of property is present with
the mother's kin group, there is in most cases no inherent social organ-
isation in the mother's family which joins her and the rest of her rela-
(591) tives together as a functioning social unit in any one place. The custom
(572) of patrilocal and/or neolocal marriage forbids such an eventuality. By
the same token, ordinary friendships beyond the kinship system include
varying amounts of this same kind of aman when occurring between social
equals.

(1) Smith, M.G. The Economy of Hausa Communities of Zaria, Colonial Re-
search Studies No. 16 (The Colonial Office, London) 1955, p. 47.

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In interpersonal relations in the society at large aman or trust is most often used in the patrilateral sense of the word when social organization is involved. Thus, in the anthropologist's household, one of the members who developed yearnings for the women of the other household members, and was suspected of taking ways, became increasingly estranged from the general corpus of the household personnel. The comments about him, most often muttered under their breaths by the others, were "aman ba", no trust, and "ahim ngundu", narrow eyes, i.e. no proper feelings of shame and respect. That is to say, he neglected or rejected the proper rules of trust behaviour which should be practised by a person living in a household unit. Thus aman (trust) in the patrilateral sense is the working mechanism of barsum (respect). Barsum as a formal or structural behaviour norm can often be tied to nona, to pay one's respects to a superior, but when it includes aman it is a more functional and purposeful interaction and is tied into the successful or unsuccessful operation of interpersonal relations. Consequently, when the two are linked together, i.e. when a respect relationship also involves patri-aman, its neglect or infringement causes a judgment of lack of "proper" respect to be placed on the head of the individual offender who breaks faith. To the Kanuri then, the best respect, the real respect relationship involves aman, and without this essential feature the relationship is more formal than functional. Here again the concept of a continuum is useful in filling out the complex variability of the respect relation. In terms of utility, the respect relation runs from extremely little, which is symbolized in nona, (paying one's respects to a superior), through to aman, (trusting a superior and being loyal to him), in return for the support and maintenance he can bestow. The value of these different aspects of respect both functionally to the

571 individuals involved and traditionally as a cultural value also
602 increases as simple nona is made more rewarding by the progressive addition of more and more patri-aman.

Joking Relationships (suli)

Joking relationships (suli) among the Kanuri refer to a quality in interpersonal relations wherein the customary behavioural restrictions based on seniority, generation and sex differences are relaxed and a formalized pattern of permissiveness of some kind obtains between the parties.

603 The most diffuse or broadly based joking relationship is that between ego and his grandparents and great-grandparents, if

[855] any of the latter are alive. In many cases Kanuri children are
[591] partially raised by their grandparents, being taken from their moth-

[553] or just after weaning. This is especially true when the child is called after his grandparent which is often the case since naming customs generally bring names from alternate generations down the descent system. The child usually has the most intimate and fondest joking relationship with his namesake grandparent, if this person lives close by or adopts him. When this is not the case, the grandparent residing closest is the person with whom a more intimate

553 joking relationship is established. The naming rule gives no prefer-
602 ence to matrilineal or patrilineal kinship; successive children must be named after and/or adopted by each of the spouse's parents alternatively. Thus neither side must obtain a namesake from the same marriage union twice in a row. The reason given for this custom of alternation is that it helps to prevent conflict and jealousy between a man and his wife as well as between the married couple and

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602 their respective kindred and in-laws. There is no rule about which group should take precedence although the comparative social status of the patrilineal and matrilineal kin seems to be a major factor in the decision. Informants claimed that the child must be taken away from his grandparents some time before puberty and brought under the direct control of his parents so that he (or she) may learn proper respect (bársun) because there is no bársun, they said, when there is much suli. Table I indicates that this latter judgment is only an approximation to the overall pattern since 14.9% of all responses by ego to grandparents indicate the presence of some respect (bársun) behaviour. As a general rule the reciprocity of the joking relationships between alternate generations of the kinship system, extending to include the third ascendant and descendant generations (the yaiya) follows a pattern of more respect between ego and his grandparents and more freindship and fondness between ego and his grandchildren.

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It is not uncommon to see a grandparent visiting his or her friends always in the company of their little joking partners. As the friends sit down to chat of the latest gossip of the day, the grandchild plays nearby, then comes over and nestles in the grandparent's arms, pulls at articles of dress on his person, or pulls at grandfather's beard, and acts generally in a quietly affectionate manner. The observer is struck more with the genuine fondness and affection of the relationship, at its early stages, than with its so-called joking content. As the child grows older the joking aspect becomes more noticeable. The grandparent will point out a young playmate of the opposite sex and say to him -

603 that is your wife, is it?, or to her - that is your husband, eh?

[152] All the restrictions on any show of emotion with own parents are noticeable by their absence in the affective nature of the grandparent joking relationship with its openly expressible fondness and friendship. That there is some discipline involved is indicated by the fact that the child is very often socialized in a grandparent's [262] house. One grandparent was observed very patiently taking the left hand of his little namesake out of the food bowl, every time the child attempted to eat with this taboo instrument. One adult informant summed up his own attitudes towards the relationship as follows:

You may pull your kaka's (grandparent's) beards, or go into his house and take his possessions, and he will not mind - he is happy because his children have borne children. If you have a yaiya (great-grandparent) alive, it is the same with him.

[602]
[553] Although the suli (joking) relationship holds for all members of the second and third ascendant and descendant generations it focuses for an individual in its most memorable and frequently emphasized form, between himself and his grandparent-namesake, his chuwuna. Many Kanuri names are convertible from male to female forms and thus, cases of a grandchild named after a grandparent of opposite sex are known. The important point is that the chuwuna (namesake) relationship is most often associated with the practice of grandparent joking relations and possible adoptions. This observation is validated by looking at other chuwuna relationships in the kinship system or between close friends. If a child is named after a father's brother or his father's friend, he and that person have a mildly permissive joking relationship. They address each

553 other as chuwuna and refer and act towards one another in a similar
571 fashion to that of grandparents and grandchildren. For parents this becomes an avenue for showing affection to a collateral relative or a close friend in much the same way as we appoint our own children's

553 god-parents. This naming custom is also a means of establishing
557 profitable relations both for the parents (especially the father) and for the child. Consequently, in the Kanuri state there are a great many children called after District Heads, aristocrats of the state, rich men, and people in high status positions generally. The previous chief of Magumeri District had been a particularly beneficent and popular political leader of the area. When he departed to take up residence in another District he left in his wake a large number of children who had been named after him. The reason for giving names in this way is not only to flatter or honour the person
[597] involved. There is a very conscious awareness that the namesake relation includes the possibility of adoption as frequently occurs in the case of the grandparent-grandchild relation. Thus there is in this extension outwards and often upwards of the chuwuna relation an attempt to better or at least increase the social relations of the family and especially, it is hoped, of the child.

607 There is a joking relationship between ego and his spouse's younger siblings, real and classificatory, of either sex.

[601] Informants are emphatic in denying that it is possible even in joking
[582] to call Wi-Yo-Sia "wife" or "little wife" as do the Hausa. Marriage with Wi-Yo-Sia is taboo unless the present wife is dead. Informants

(1) Smith, M.G., op. cit. p. 43

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Informants

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say that marriage with a dead wife's sister is a possibility and some called it a "good thing", but no such unions were ever recorded in the field. To jokingly call Wi-Yo-Sis, "wife" carries an implication of the present wife's death, and such joking is stringently avoided. Exactly the same conditions for the same reasons apply to the joking relations between a woman and her husband's younger brothers. Although the joking takes many forms the most common is for ego to joke about obtaining a sexual and/or a marriage partner for his spouse's younger siblings.

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There is a joking relationship which takes place between cross-cousins of opposite sex. It takes the following form. Ego (male speaking) jokes with his matrilineal junior cross-cousin of opposite sex, calling her wife, concubine, lover, etc., and she returns the joke calling him slave, husband, lover, etc., and extracting joking money (kungana sulibe) from him on the Sala Laya (roughly the New Year). This brings on a kind of play behaviour with the younger siblings of ego's cousin which follows the adult rules of marriage. That is to say, a joking relation with Wi-Yo-Siblings who in this case are his junior cross-cousins as well as being his

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joking-wife's younger siblings. Thus he will call them tiu (junior in-laws) and refer to them (in the situation) as tiunvi (my junior in-laws). Ego may change his joking-wife from time to time if there are many female junior cross-cousins, but he will call only one of them wife at any one time, arranging her younger siblings

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into tiu (junior in-laws). This follows the adult practice of only marrying one of the available cousins at one time. Given no joking-wife among the matri-kin, ego may go through exactly the same joking

605 play with his patrilineal cousins. As in the matrilineal case, if ego changes his joking-wife, the tiu joking relationships shift also in association with the change. That is to say, these joking relationships may change in their personnel from time to time, but are ordered in relation to the adult marriage rules in each separate situation.

(184) Although no attempt was made to measure class differences in the cousin joking relationships, it should be noted here that several informants claimed that the above joking relations were "unbecoming" for good proper behaviour and they did not practise such customs.

567 Outside the kinship system a joking relationship may hold between a master and his slave, although this is usual only when the slave is an entertainer of some kind. Informants denied that it occurred when the slave is merely serving his master in an

571 ordinary work situation. Amongst the various occupations, joking
463 relations obtain between smiths and butchers; barber-doctors and smiths; mallams (koranic teacher-priests) and hunters; kola-nut wholesalers and retailers; dyers and tailors; a builder of mud houses and his labourers; a fire-wood seller and his customers; 614
648 pepper sellers and kola-nut wholesalers. Joking relations also hold between clans such as Ngala'a and Magumi; Nguma and Tara; Kuburi and Tara; Su'urti and Kuburi; or between ethnic groups like Shuwa and Kanuri; Kurdi and Shuwa; Hausa and Fulani; Kanuri and Fulani; Tabu and Monga; Monga and Bedde; Kanembu and Wasili (Arabs).

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602 In the above relationships which seem in all cases to cover an area of interrelations involving potential conflicts, the

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[602] joking takes the form (usually) of the grandparent-grandchild re-
[601] lationship. The younger refers to and addresses the elder as kaka
(grandparent) while the elder may refer to the younger as diwo
(grandchild) or address him as kaka. Joking between occupations
was observed more frequently than between ethnic groups, while no
[829] inter-clan joking was seen at all. Most people do not know the clan
membership of the people they associate with in their everyday life.

Friendship and Fondness Relations (numkam)

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602 The friendship and/or fondness relationships include
those interpersonal relations wherein ego finds mutual affection,
sympathy and community of interests. As a norm or dimension of be-
haviour it is much less formalized in the kinship system (indeed in
society as a whole) when compared with shame, respect and joking
relations. These are regarded as fairly distinct aspects of inter-
personal relations which involve some kind of a behavioural criterion
or marker, like not eating out of the same bowl, or joking
[128] about sexual intercourse, etc. Notwithstanding the possibility of
its creation by the anthropologist, rather than the people them-
selves, as a category of kinship behaviour of the same order as the
others, numkam (friendship) seems to be a characteristic of kinship
relations as it is of any human situation wherein people live, eat,
play, earn their living and feel themselves to make up a unity of
some sort.

603 There is a high degree of expressive and affective fond-
ness found in the joking relationships between grandparents and
grandchildren which centers, as we have seen, most intensively
around the namesake attribute of the same relationship. Because of

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the difference in generation of the parties, there is a higher secondary content of fondness on the grandparent's part, while the slight lessening of this dimension is associated with a corresponding rise of the respect relation on the part of the grandchild. It does not show up in the questionnaire data summarized in Table I, because the joking relations (suli) with grandparents already includes friendship behaviour within its meaning content for this particular category of relative. Therefore when subjects were asked how they behaved towards grandparents, their suli responses included the kind of affective behaviour covered by this relationship.

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The same thing is true for the relationship to own mother, although for different reasons. No friendship responses were given to own mother, because the cultural ideal of shame-respect is so strong here. Thus there was a blanket response pattern from all subjects in accordance with the traditional value of shame-respect.

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Nonetheless, there is the possibility and indeed expectation of an affective fondness and friendship relation between ego (male or female speaking) and own mother, which is extended in theory to

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include the mother's kindred. When asked what was the worst thing that he could remember ever happening to him when he was young, an informant replied without hesitation that it had occurred when he had to stay in his father's house on the occasion of his mother's divorce of his father. Another informant related how he had gone to the Jos Plateau to learn something about geological survey work, as part of his training for a job with the Bornu N.A. However, after three months he claims he had strong yearnings to see his mother and subsequently walked off the job and returned to his

593 father's compound to stray no more (his mother and father have never been divorced).

602 Informants always refer to matrilateral relationships as being somewhat affective and allowing of emotional expression and friendship because, they say, "These relatives are like your mother and therefore they love you very much." Such a description is rarely heard from an informant when he discusses patrilateral relationships.

604 In the parent generation there is a tendency for the drop in shame responses which accompany the shift in ego's relationships with own parents to parents' junior collaterals to be accompanied by a small rise in friendship to these relatives. There is also some friendship between ego and his parent's older siblings, but tempered with much respect by ego.

572 There is much friendship practised between ego and his
602 collaterals, senior and junior, especially of the same sex as long as the age difference between them is not great. It is primarily from among kin members of the same age that ego chooses his kinship ashirmanzá (literally: his secrets-man, i.e. his most intimate

(476) friend) if any of these are taken from among the kin members. They also form one of the natural sources from which ego may draw his sárwa (informal cooperative work group) of 4-10 persons for any piece of work he might require to have done. As in any society ego not only looks to kin members of the same age but outwards to neighbouring compounds and quarters for his friendship ties, his sárwa contributions, and his ashirmanzá.

593 There is a possibility of a strong affection and friend-

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ship developing in the husband-wife relationship depending upon [565] the stability of the union. Such friendships are aided and abetted [586] by cousin marriage as well as by upper class position where the divorce rate does not seem to be as high.

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Finally, an examination of the nature of friendship in general excluding the grandparent-grandchild, and mother-child relations reveals some unique features which arise from its setting in the total social organisation. The question can be raised as to why it is that friendship is not formalized or structured to the same extent as the other behaviours associated with the kinship system. Certainly, an immediate answer lies in the universal nature of this kind of interpersonal relationship, i.e., its affectivity and expressive content, and the concomitant emotional satisfactions which people obtain from such associations. These tend to create a large area for personality characteristics to determine exactly who among the available persons, for example age-mates in the kindred, ego will move toward in expanding and contracting his friendships. As in our society, social factors such as socio-economic status, occupation, residence patterns, ethnic background, and norms of upward mobility all enter into such choices as well. But there is more to Kanuri friendship relations than a mere addition or interaction of these idiosyncratic features of personality attraction and repulsion on the one hand and sociological variables on the other.

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Informants were forever telling the anthropologist that someone he mentioned was a friend of theirs, although no affective or emotional or for that matter any very real social relationship existed between them. They meant, of course, that they liked

572 to include as many people as possible under the category of friend.

On the other side of the question, what we in our culture would consider a very close friendship can be restricted or terminated for any one of a number of reasons, running from a shift in residence

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201 to uneven upward mobility on the part of the friends. When friends actually do have to part, great protestations of affection and sadness are often made at the time of leave-taking, especially and in much greater part, by the person remaining behind. Occasions like this are not uncommon. On one of these, a local official had received a much higher office in the capital. At a small gathering of his friends before his departure, heavy emotional displays of sadness and actual bereavement were made by many of his friends — they were losing such a good friend — why was he leaving them? — couldn't he stay? — did he realize how sad he was making them all feel? — he would forget them all now — etc. There was no mention whatsoever of his good fortune in receiving such an honourable and prestigious promotion in the State. The sadness seemed more an expression of the group's dissatisfaction with their friend's departure than one of melancholy at his leaving, and it lasted only until his departure on the part of all but his very close ashirmansá (intimate friend) who because of other circumstances in the situation had extremely few real friends and, therefore, suffered a more profound loss.

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There is a cultural evaluation of interpersonal relations which underlies all Kanuri attitudes about their social life. Relationships achieved and/or ascribed are good, and more importantly, they are potentially profitable and satisfying phenomena. Conse-

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Consequently, any informant will tell of a host of friends that he possesses. Contrarily, the loss or lessening of interaction in any relationship is a bad thing, and a departing friend is mourned at during his leaving as a loss to self and admonished over and over again not to forget his friends either directly — "Don't forget me," — or indirectly — "You will forget me now." — This explains why no one mentioned the official's good luck in obtaining a promotion, the total emphasis being on the loss which his good fortune had inflicted on his friends. However, he was still a friend and would always be referred to as such if they were questioned. Thus, many of the friendships reported on are due to past associations now inactive, or often because of hoped-for associations in the future. Because of this constant interplay of friendship as a value per se with the non-permanent quality of many relationships through time the Kanuri often seem to the Western observer to lack "sincerity" in the emotional quality of their friendships except in rare cases of extreme intimacy. However, even in the latter a long-term basis is not necessarily a concomitant of mutual intimacy. Since it is good and desirable to have as many friends as possible, from previous associations as well as in terms of future possibilities, the social and physical mobility and the sheer numbers of such relationships dictate that an individual cannot have an expressive-affective relationship with all of them. Nor can he expect or predict when a really operative friendship (even in the kinship system) may be broken. Consequently, he learns to anticipate the possible break-up of any particular interpersonal relation at any time as part of his social interactions and concentrates, if he is successful in his culture,

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on learning how to create as many relationships as possible for himself to cover the inevitable break-ups which occur in present social relations. As a result, to a Western observer, the friendship relations may seem to have a superficial quality which involves many references to good friends, what they do and will do for ego, with subsequently very little proof of the validity of such claims. Although certainly the emotional content can be and is, in many ways, as real and sincere as in any comparable human situation anywhere. The essential difference here is the institutionalised recognition and acceptance of the brittleness of interpersonal relations as a necessary behavioural aspect of a complex social organisation which has been operating over a wide territory and population through a long history. Our social reality is not so different, but our culture has idealised Damon and Pythias.

Residence Patterns

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Although it is a basic tenet in the present discussion that Kamuri behavioural norms and the texture of interpersonal relations in the total society have their foundations in the kinship system, it must also be realized that the fundamental unit of social organisation in which these behaviours operate is the compound or household (fato). This is a walled-in area which encloses a readily identifiable group in the community. The walls are of mud or grass matting depending on the socio-economic level of the householder and the community at large, as well as upon a cheap abundant supply of clay-mud. Magumeri had only one mud walled compound, that of the District Head, while other towns such as Goidan have almost all compounds enclosed with mud walls. The walls are usually about five feet tall, but vary from place to place.

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592 feet tall, but vary from place to place.

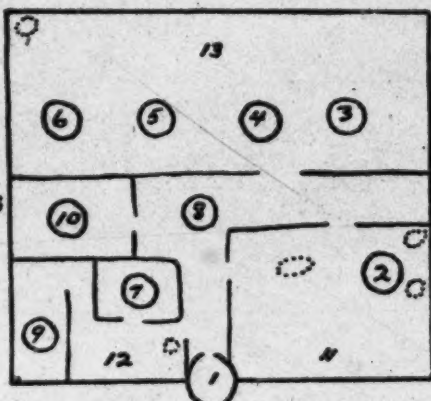
592 The diagram below gives an "ideal" picture of a Kanuri (1)
181 household, although it is an example which was actually observed.

It is called "ideal" because it is not a universal pattern, but is the embodiment of what each young man dreams of aspiring to if he is successful in life.

DIAGRAM OF "IDEAL" KANURI COMPOUND

Legend

- [595] 1. large entrance hut
2. hut of compound head
3. hut of senior wife
4, 5, 6. huts of other wives
7. hut of son
8. hut of mother of compound head
9. hut of son's wife
10. hut of servant
[343] 11. horse stall
12. son's horse stall and granary
13. garden area
dotted lines show granaries



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Only prepubertal boys and females are allowed into the women's section at the back of the compound. Most of the male social life takes place in front of the household or in the large entrance hut. More intimate male friends of the family may come into the male quarters of the compound, although this is not a frequent occurrence. The mother of the household head whose extreme age makes her role more asexual has a hut (8) less secluded than those of the

[736] wives of the household. In good Kanuri fashion, the compound head is supporting his widowed mother.

[595] (1) It is a diagram map of the compound of the Village Head of Magu-
[823] meri. To make it more typical one hut has been deleted beside (6) which housed a concubine. The direction of the house - facing west - is typical for all huts but not all compounds, except those of political leaders.

592 supporting his widowed mother.

592 Although a complete census coverage of residence units,
125 in order to determine the range and variation of residence patterns
171 (1) proved unfeasible, personal observations and first-hand acquaintance
with 25-30 households over a one-year period brought out somewhat (2)
similar conclusions to Smith's analysis of his Hausa census material.

592 There are two general types of household groupings linked
571 to one another through time in a roughly cyclical process of fission

[596] and fusion. The first type is that of a man, wife or wives, and
[829] children and son's wives. This is an ideal pattern in the culture.

In anthropological terms it is a patrilocal extended family organization with the possible addition of a servant or a tada njima (son of the house - like a son, but non-kin). From this traditionally valued structure two forms can emerge or develop. The son and/or servant may move off and set up his own household, either close by or in a distant locality depending upon political and economic factors. This is just about ready to happen in the diagram above. The son (7) has his own farm, wife, child and non-agricultural source of income, all independent of the compound head. If he decides on another wife he will find his father's compound cramping to his own expanding nuclear family unit requirements and move to a new location close by. Desire for autonomous headship of his own family grouping plus the possible squabbles between co-wives which must traditionally be suppressed before his own parents, will also tend to determine his decision to move. In this particular case he will not move far

123 (1) The census was planned and arranged for but was given up for political reasons. The writer was assured by close friends that in
125 the contemporary atmosphere of tax fears the census program would disturb ultimate rapport objectives in the community.

(2) Smith, M.G., op. cit. pp. 19-28.

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[593] because of the eventual high status position he can look forward to upon the death of his father. Again he has a strong affective tie with his mother, i.e., his father's senior wife. In this case the compound split is merely a segmentary process which is reproducing the pattern. The son will attempt to set up a similar household to that from which he came.

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[578] Another alternative takes place when a household head dies leaving several sons or heirs. The sons may remain in the compound area with the senior as the nominal head. However, as soon as each of the brothers begins creating his own nuclear family the original pattern begins to reassert itself, and hiving off takes place which is commonly noticeable in the re-arrangement of compound walls, or the emergence of new ones. The degree to which the brothers remain together is very often a measure of the genealogical distance between them through the father's line. Informants state that full brothers have a much greater chance of remaining in the same compound or near one another than other types of siblings. The conflicts over inheritance and the loyalties to different widowed mothers tend to create a somewhat stronger fissionable force in the case of half-siblings of the same dead father. In the opposite case where the widowed mother is the same, but the co-resident siblings are of different fathers, then only the offspring of the dead father have any claim to the inheritance. The half-siblings of this variety generally do not remain together since they have different patrilineal kinship affiliations. This does not mean to imply that half-siblings of different fathers are unfriendly to one another. In actual fact the reverse seems to be the case. However, ego's interests and sense

592 However, ego's interests and sense
593 of social membership lie primarily with his agnatic group and are
571 less affected by friendship than social security.

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An example may help to clarify things here. From the genealogical data of four brothers, the following recent family history emerged which, although atypical in its matrilineal emphasis, still illustrates quite graphically how the residence patterns operate through time.

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Upon the death of her husband about forty years ago, a woman of Magumeri returned from Nguru in north Borno in order to live in the compound of her full brother, the head butcher of the town. With her she brought her three sons all of whom had been fathered by her recently dead husband. She later remarried, leaving the three boys with their Mo-Bro, and subsequently gave birth to another son by the new husband. The three sons of the woman's original marriage grew up in the house of their (childless) Mo-Bro and were taught the butcher's craft.

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When the Mo-Bro died leaving no wife, and no heirs, his sister's oldest son became the head butcher of Magumeri. The second son decided to leave the butcher's craft (a low status occupation) and become a trader in hides and skins. The youngest of the three full brothers, who was crippled in one leg, elected to remain in butchering. The eldest son became head of the household. He married and prospered and now has two wives and three children (by the second wife). The second also married and set up a new compound for himself on the east side of and adjacent to his elder brother's compound. Later, the third brother married and after a short while moved directly to the north and adjacent to his elder brother's compound.

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[241] These three compound heads all farm near one another on the split-up land of their Mo-Bro (they also have cleared other plots), often helping one another in farming duties. They present a united front to the community at large and if one appears in court, the others will also be present.

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593 The youngest half-brother also learned the butcher's craft, but he has married and moved away to another section of the butcher's quarter and today has virtually nothing to do with his three half-brothers. Some of this half-brother's statements indicate the background of disunity among siblings. He had been raised until puberty in the house of X who was married to his Mo-Sis in the capital. After puberty he came to the house of his Mo-Bro in Magumeri, who was now dead and whose place as compound head had been taken by the eldest of the half-brothers. This brother "taught him the knife" (i.e. instructed him in butchering) and he in his turn gave barzun (respect) to the half-brother, who was now also his compound head. Here is a paraphrase translation of his own attitude to the relationships:

I did not have a father and was now living in the house of my elder brother, who was head of the house — therefore I had to give to my brother the same respect as a father and keep myself under his orders. I wanted a wife (all my other brothers had married and moved out to form their own households by now), but my eldest brother ordered me to wait patiently until I learned the occupation properly — he said — continue to stay in my house and carry grass for my horse, and learn the butcher's trade and I will feed you and give you money for spending and buy your clothes. But I was not happy and saved my money in secret and saved enough to take a wife of my own — they were cheap in those days. My older brother was angry and did not agree to the marriage but he still wished for me to stay in the compound — but I did not wish to do this and so I moved away to a house that X, the husband of my Mo-Sis in Maiduguri, owned here in the butcher's quarter.

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[428]

He has now obtained some farmland from a friend and all

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his primary relationships are with non-kin members (X is dead). His extreme youth, plus his absence at the time of the Mo-Bro death as compared with his brothers' presence in the compound, left him out of the inheritance and allowed the three half-brothers to parcel out the farmland among themselves. He feels today that there is gadena mbeji, a difference or bad feeling between him and his half-brothers.

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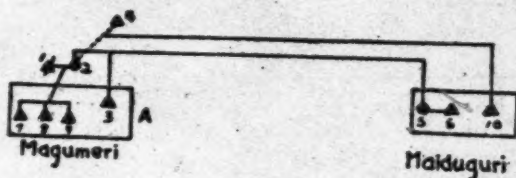
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592

The following diagram illustrates the processes of the above example.

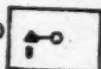
Stage I

(first row)

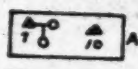


Stage II

(second row)



Magumeri



A

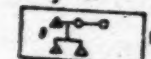


C

When 3 died his sister's eldest son took over the compound (A), and 10 came to live with him. Siblings 8 and 9 soon set up their own households closeby.

Stage III

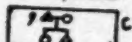
(third row)



B



A



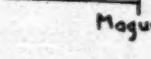
C



D



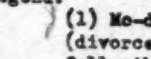
E



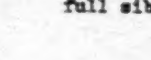
F



G



H



I



J



K



L

Magumeri

10 saved his money and finally set up his own household (D) away from his siblings.

Legends:

- (1) Mo-dead-husband; (2) Mo; (3) Mo-Bro; (4) Mo-next-husband (divorced later); (5) Mo-Sis; (6) Mo-Sis-Hus; (7), (8), (9) full siblings; (10) half-sibling to 7, 8, 9.

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Several comparable processes to the above were recorded except that the defunct relative whose demise caused the shift in power relations was an agnatic relative. The overall pattern is as follows: a patrilineal extended family residence may break up while the household head is still living to form an identical but often smaller structure near at hand or far away. The mobile member sets up his new compound unit with his own nuclear or polygynous family group as the constituent members. Another and somewhat similar process occurs when a compound head dies leaving several sons in the household. In these circumstances the senior son takes over the headship of his father's compound and assumes an authoritative position over his siblings. But this second variety tends to give way in time to a series of smaller residence groups. That is to say, a group of new households are set up under each sibling as he departs from his senior brother's compound. Thus there is a process in Kanuri residence patterns in which each married man attempts to set up his own household with himself as compound head. However, factors of power and authority tend very often to create superior subordinate relations among groups of households which then become extended household organizations.

[591]

[621]

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In the Kanuri residence groupings, the most satisfactory organization for the operation of power and authority is the type in which a senior person who is the father or acts like a father to all the members of the compound commands much of the action of the group. As we have seen in the analysis of barzum its strongest form centres around the relationship of father to son while the relation weakens somewhat as ego relates himself to parent's collateral

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593 als and senior siblings. That is to say, in terms of ego's sensi-
602 tivity to kinship superiors' ability to command discipline-respect,
the data indicates that the father role contains the greatest propor-
tion of authority in terms of ego's responses. This does not mean
that father surrogates can never successfully replace the father role
for ego, for as we shall see, the role is defined primarily in terms
592 of functions rather than biological ascription. Thus, if the father-
593 head of the patrilocal extended family organization cannot produce
for his subordinate members all the subsistence satisfactions, the
clothing, bride-wealth, and status in the community, which they re-
quire in return for their subservience, then to that extent the
discipline aspect of the bàraum is impaired. In other words, power
will be weakened because the compound head's authority, i.e. his
ability to secure performance of his decisions will vary with his
ability to make his subordinates sensitive to his authority. Because
of his ascribed role as father a man can always expect some bàraum
from his son. However, to make the relationship work he must con-
tinually perform the actions which create and maintain subservience.

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596 Thus, in the diagram above of the traditional patrilocal
571 extended family grouping, ¹the son (7) will soon be moving out to
form his own compound. The son is at present very sensitive to his
father's commands. The father gave him his farm, his bride-wealth,
his horse, and at present supplements his income. The son, being
the only male heir, stands to gain a comparatively large inheritance
plus a political office which he values upon his father's death.
Consequently, the son is not going to move his household very far
away when he sets up his own compound and is not going to demand

¹[cf. p. 86]

593 complete autonomy even when his new residence pattern has been
596 established. On the other hand, the father is only a lower link in
571 a large, complex political system, and the father's relationships to
593 those above him are carefully scanned by the son. If the father
557 should fall out of favour in the total political organization of
Bernu, then to that extent his degree of power over his son may diminish, for the son being desirous of eventually stepping into the father's shoes is also sensitive to higher authorities than those of his immediate residential grouping. The continued loyalty and subservience of the son is therefore a function of the father's beneficence and his total position in the society at large. Certainly the bonds of consanguinity enter to thicken the tie between them, but a continued violation of the above methods of making the relationship work, i.e. validating the relationship, would lead to the possibility of the son looking for a more beneficent superior, real father notwithstanding. The father-son relationship would then have more formal barsun (respect) than actual functioning power and authority involved. Because of the ascribed nature of the real father role, however, the relationship can never be totally divested of authority. He can always secure some little performance of action on the part of the son, which the culture sanctions, such as attendance at family weddings, funerals, etc. although his power, i.e. his ability to make decisions about action for his son's behaviour is more highly variable and requires more careful cultivation if it is to be as diffuse as is ideally desired in the patrilocal family organization.

571 If the foregoing description seems too mechanistic, it is
557 a result of the example chosen to illustrate the phenomena. In this

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case the factors are easily isolated and can be held up to view because of the manipulation of the power and authority ingredients of the relationship by the people involved and the prominent part they play in the continuity of the interaction. In the give and take of ordinary day to day life, however, the thresholds of decision-making vary tremendously from person to person. Some complain continually of their present set of relationships but never seem to change; others complain and are also highly motivated to obtain more profitable ties, while others who seem content suddenly inform their friends that they are leaving their present set of arrangements because they can link up more profitably elsewhere. To explain this variability would require a psychological analysis of each individual's motivation, plus a thorough knowledge of the total scale of his social relationships, since the more persons one knows and the farther they are spread out over the society as a whole, the easier it is to shift from one set of relationships to another. Persons who have remained in one locality all their lives naturally tend as they grow older to become more identified with the particularities of the area. Their scale of relationships is restricted spatially and thus the range of profitable possibilities for changing social relations is [554] narrowed. Again as a general rule, biologically ascribed relationships of a kinship or non-kinship (i.e. slavery) variety tend to be more durable than achieved ones, in Bernu as in all societies.

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In another residence grouping, a man was observed to have obtained a good deal of power and authority over quite a large group of adjacent semi-independent compound units. These included the man's own compound, containing his two wives, the next compound

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592 which housed his married son and wife and their child, and his other
621 son who was a full brother to the first. Across from his son's compound was that of his full younger sibling and wife (no children) and next to that of his full younger sibling was the compound of his patrilineal parallel male cousin who is married and has two children. All these groupings are semi-separate compounds, but have openings in the straw mat walls from one into the other. They are all semi-independent economic units, having their own farms and dry season activity, which for all of them, except the senior man in question, [426] is calabash carving and marketing. The senior man is a money-lender [651] and has comparatively large farm holdings. He collects the tax from all the household units enumerated above and remits it to the Village Head. 556 The rest of the males involved plant, hoe and sow his farms, 621 and go on messages to collect loans, or sell something for him. He, 571 in turn, helps them financially when necessary, gives them gifts and [577] represents them before the higher community authorities. They, in their turn, often manifest some rebelliousness towards the senior's power but at the same time are the only people who ever openly defended the morally degrading activity of money-lending, which keeps their superior in his economically powerful position. The economic and social security which they gain by maintaining this extended household organization outweighs for them the shame of being attached to a money lender's household, as well as the annoyance in every day life of subservience to his power and authority.

557 Thus, the manipulation of the ingredients of power and
571 authority are major determinants of local groupings of people into operating social units, although they are imbedded in a discernible

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range of personal ambition, inertia, and variation in the scale of social relations. The kinds of structures which result from the natural processes of birth, maturation, marriage and death may vary and, as we have seen, result in various kinds of stresses to be incorporated into the organization. However, these can almost always be mitigated when the structure has a satisfactory operating distribution of power and authority. If not, then fissionable forces in residence structures tend to emerge and themselves determine the character of the group.

Maximal Lineages and Clans

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It is not necessary within the scope of the present discussion to go into a full description. Nevertheless, it should be noted that traditionally Kanuri kinship included functional clans and to some extent at least, i.e. among the upper classes, maximal patri-lineages. In Chapter II, mention was made of the military use of clans in the army in the pre-1893 periods of Bornu history. All Kanuri if pressed are able to give their clan membership whose identity they generally recognise patrilineally. Exceptions were found, however, where informants gave two clans which they identified as coming to them from their mother and their father. Nevertheless, basing judgment upon the statements of older informants it seems fairly certain that clan membership was reckoned patrilineally.

The Magumi and Kuburi clans are recognised by some to be the clans of the leading lineages of the Kanuri and Kanembu peoples respectively. It is also generally known in a rather vague way, which varies from informant to informant, that all clan members are descended from a common ancestor about whom there is sometimes an

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origin story, often associating the founder with the Prophet. For example, the following story was related by an informant about the origins of the thra clan:

One day a barber was shaving the Prophet's head. The man made a mistake and cut the Prophet's scalp. Blood came out and the barber drank it. Everyone who comes from that barber is thra. They are not connected with chiefs, they are common people but they are close to the Prophet -- they are sherib, fire will not burn them.

Some informants felt that in the old days there may have been a tendency for clan endogamy, not as a sanctioned custom, but as a matter of mere frequency. No one ever heard of any exogamous rules, or ever connected the clans to any natural species of flora and fauna.

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Among some of the high status groups and some of the very high status families of Bornu, not only clan membership is known but also a series of maximal lineages within the clan to which the name of an original founder (not mythical as in the case of the clan) is attached. Most Kanuri have heard of the Sefuwa lineage of the Magumi clan. This was the royal lineage of pre-nineteenth century Bornu. No rules of marriage were elicited for this grouping.

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Questions about clan to younger Kanuri and even older ones in some cases often brought out (after tribal affiliation) residential associations. Thus, a peasant informant would relate how his daughter had been married to a man whose clan was Kanuri. Continued questioning on the same point would bring out the reply that the son-in-law's sub-clan was Maiduguri; in other words, the name of his town.

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On the basis of this data, it is concluded that Kanuri clans and maximal lineages have very little, if any, functioning significance in the contemporary society.

64/121 significance in the contemporary society. It should be noted that for purposes of the present study, the term "clan" refers to extra-lineage connections between persons with some understanding of common ancestry from an original mythical founder. As Africanists have used this term, clan does not necessarily refer to exogenous groups.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER IV

601

Kanuri Kinship Terminology

ya	Mo, Mo-Sis, Mo-Mo, Fa-Mo, any elder female
yakura	Mo-Old-Sis
yinna, yagana (rare)	Mo-Yo-Sis
rava, raba	Mo-Bro, Fa-Sis-Bu, Mo-Bu, Mo-Bu (not own father), Mo-Divorced-Bu.
aba, ba's, baba	Fa-Bro
abakura, ba'kura, babakura	Fa-Old-Bro
bawa, baba	Fa-Sis, Mo-Bro-Wi, Fa-Old-Bro-Wi, Fa-other-wives, M-co-wives
abagana, ba'gana, babagana	Fa-Yo-Bro
yangana	Fa-Yo-Bro-Wi
kaka, ka's	Mo-Mo, Mo-Fa, Fa-Mo, Fa-Fa, any old person, Wi-grandparents, all sons and daughters of ego's own children, with less frequency - the sons and daughters of people ego calls son and daughter. For 2nd descendent generation, only as term of address.
yaiya	anyone on the 3rd ascendant and descendent generation of ego's kin relations.
yeyari	Anyone of ego's kin relations beyond the 3rd ascendant generation.
yanyiana	Bro, Sis, Half-Bro, Half-Sis, Old-cross and parallel cousins of either sex.
karami	Yo-Bro, Yo-Sis, Yo-Half-Bro, Yo-Half-Sis, Yo-cross and parallel cousins of either sex.
yabo	same as karami, not used often, also any person junior to ego.
shakik (rare)	full brother, sister.
aba'ana (rare)	Half-Bro, Half-Sis, same father
kalala (rare)	Half-Bro, Half-Sis, same mother

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tada

own son, own children's sons, own children's male grandchildren, junior male cousins and their male descendants, general term for male child of any one.

fare

same as tada, only female.

dive

grandchild (reference)

fandi

child of a cousin marriage

khesi

senior in-law, Wi-parents and their collaterals, Wi-Ol-Siblings (sometimes)

tin

junior in-law, Wi-Siblings real and classificatory especially juniors, all wife's junior relatives

kamnyi

my wife (reference)

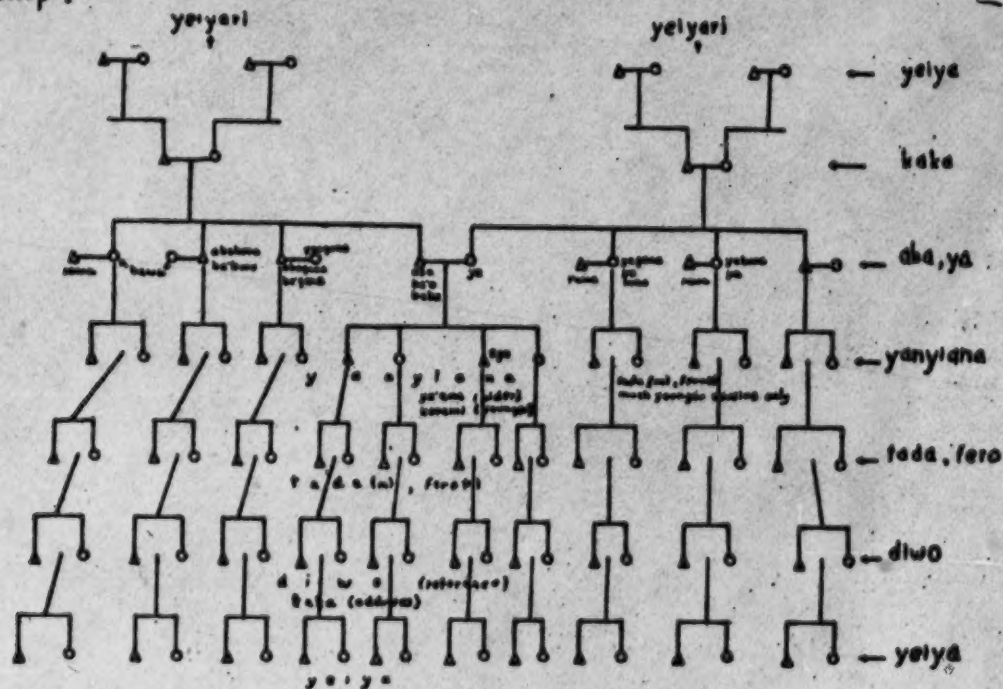
kwanyi

my husband (reference)

tinama

spouse of wife's collaterals

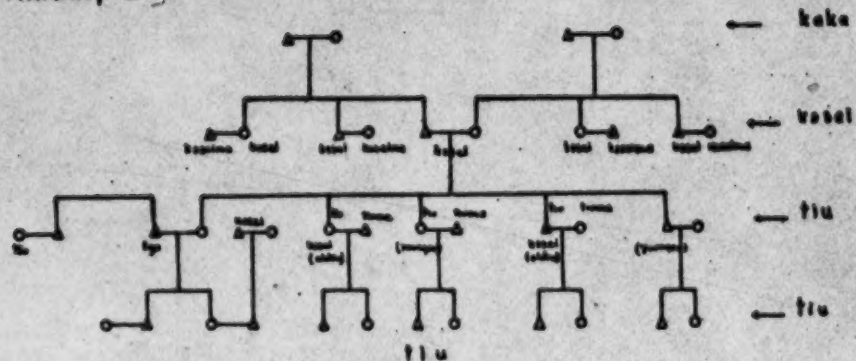
Kinship 1



3: Cohen E-4, 5 (1956-1957) 1980

MS14 KAMERI MS14

Kinship II



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31 Cobden E-4, 5 (1966-1967) 1980

MS14 Kauri MS14

CHAPTER V

[p. 99]

Marriage Relations

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Kanuri marriages are virilocal from the point of view of the woman, which means that she always leaves her residence to live in the compound of her husband. From the point of view of the man, marriages are patrilocal or neolocal. Thus a man either brings his wife to the compound of his father or very close to it, or else takes his wife to a new residence away from the residences of both their kin groups. Thirty-eight out of sixty-one informants in Magumari reported bringing their first wives to the house of their own father or setting up a contiguous compound. For successive wives the number dropped to about one-half of those asked.

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The inception of the first marriage for young girls is decided upon by her family and chiefly among these her luwali or guardian, (1) who is most commonly the head of the household in which the girl is living at the time of her marriage. A luwali can stand in various relational positions to the young girl - he may be her father, her elder brother, her cross-cousin, or patrilineal parallel-cousin, or adoptive parent. When the household head is not the luwali, which can occur for example in the case of cousin wardship, then the luwali still has the rights of marriage dispensation over the girl. Indeed he would take anyone to court who tried to inveigle these rights away from him. Although such cases are known they are quite rare.

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The luwali's choice of potential husband is based on the availability of males seeking virgin wives plus his desire to create profitable relationships for himself. If he is a high status person, his wife-giving rights will be used most commonly to tie political and/or

(1) C.F., "lugali" in Ellison, R.E., Marriage and Childbirth Among the Kanuri, Africa; Vol. 9, 1936, pp. 524-535.

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429 economic subordinates more closely to the exercise of his power and authority. In cases where this is less of a consideration (e.g. in marriages between peasant households) than the sheer economic benefit of the marriage to the luwali becomes the primary determinant in the decision. Among peasants it is not considered desirable to marry with traditionally regarded low status persons (male or female speaking) such as drummers-entertainers, slaves, butchers, blacksmiths, tanners, petty brokers, or anyone whose birth is considered illegitimate. (conceived out [848] of wedlock). This results in a certain amount of endogamy among these occupation groups excluding illegitimates who are pariahs in the eyes of all.

582 Kanuri marriages are governed by the following rules of incest. Marriages with parents or their siblings, ~~and~~ full or half siblings are forbidden, and this rule carries over to compounds into which ego's parents have remarried where no real biological relationship with ego's parent's new spouse's children obtains. It is culturally prescribed that ego (a male) may not marry a matrilineal parallel cousin, although several upper class informants felt that this was a custom of the people and not a Muslim ordinance. No marriages of the latter variety were observed during the field research. It is considered wrong (i.e. shameful) to marry wives of consanguinal kin of any generation after they have divorced ego's kin member. No reason was given for this rule, but no exceptions to its practice were observed.

It is considered inappropriate for a man to marry a woman older than himself. But age is known in only a vague general way and most men claim they are married to women younger than themselves.

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589 During his adolescence and increasingly so as he grows older, a young man strikes up liaisons with divorced women who are looking for

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[589] husbands. These women (sower) are sexually available to all men, and are given gifts and market money for the sexual privileges they grant.

The typical adolescent male has his first sexual experiences with a woman older than himself. However, when he decides to marry he usually tries to find a woman of roughly his own or of a junior age group.

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581 First marriage marks the beginning of adult status for a man. The event announces and enables a move towards semi-independence which is aided and abetted by the avoidance relation between his father and his wife, as well as by the subject-matter avoidance of his marriage in conversations with his parents. Furthermore, he now commands an independent source of cooked food, which he can use for hospitality and its return, whereas previously he was obliged to others for this service. Kanuri males consider this to be one of the most important reasons for getting married, especially at the lower ranks of society.

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437 To understand the value placed on this function of marriage it must be realized that men from about the age of fifteen or sixteen onwards like to eat in the company of other men. Without a wife, a young man must join a group of eaters one (or more) of whose wives prepare the food. For this privilege he is obligated to the food provider, an obligation which may include hoeing his farm, going on messages for him, helping him repair his compound, etc. With a wife a young man can return eating favours on the same terms, thus equating himself to his hosts and creating obligation (a) for return meals from men who have wives, and (b) of a diffuse nature from men who have none. It will be shown later that a wife is also valued as a socio-economic asset in the determination of her husband's productive capacities.

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434 Today, almost all men in rural areas, and many in the city, derive some of the money for marriage from the cash crop. This determines

583 This determines
434 that for the majority of the population, marriages take place from
(585) about November to the end of February. The exceptions to this rule
occur among those with a steady source of income or access to loans.

583 The agnatic kin group plus own-mother, if she is able, can be counted
602 on to help as well. As we have seen in Chapter IV, exceptions to this
traditional custom can be found when a relative is against a young man's
marriage because it will deprive the relative of the social and economic
advantages of the young man's dependence.

583 The Kanuri say that a man who is not in debt to his friends
585 after contracting and carrying out a marriage has no friends. In other
426 words, for everyone, except the extremely wealthy, it is a mark of one's
572 own social role in a relational network to borrow from friends at the
time of one's wedding. Failure to do so is a declaration by implication
that the marrying individual does not trust his friends well enough to
become obligated to them. His friends may also suspect that he has
enough liquid capital to be independent of them (and benevolent super-
iors). Such action may easily lead to a flurry of attempts to borrow
money from the prospective bridegroom as soon as the wedding is over.

583 Finally, a young man may expect and borrow money from anyone, besides
585 the above, to whom he renders service and to whom he gives discipline-
426 respect. Indeed a compound head or any political figure knows that lend-
571 ing and giving money for weddings is a primary method of maintaining
subservience of subordinates.

583 In Kanuri society there are two related ways of regarding
585 the cost of carrying out a marriage (male speaking). Firstly, there is
the cost of the entire proceedings, including cloth purchases, gifts of
sundries, soap, perfumes, oil, a ram, fees to participant friends, enter-
tainers, bridewealth, etc., minus the gifts from the girl's family and

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the receipt of gifts from friends and relatives. Secondly, within this overall expense there is the bridewealth itself. Thus when considering marriage in Bornu it is necessary to distinguish between the capital outlay made for "taking" a woman, and the ⁽¹⁾total capital outlay for initiating and going through with a marriage proceeding. A Kanuri male can usually recall the exact figure of his bridewealth for most of his past marriages, but has some difficulty in remembering the entire marriage cost of all but the most recent of his nuptials.

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Rather than abstract out bits and pieces of the events of the marriage costs it will be more comprehensible to give a brief description of the payments made in connection with marriage inception in the chronological order of their occurrence.

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In the case of a virgin marriage, negotiations are initiated through a gift called the kwororan (the asking-a-question fee or gift). This gift is given most commonly by an intermediary for the husband to the luwali (guardian) as a gift to the girl's mother and/or senior female relatives. Included may often be a small gift for the girl herself. Information varies as to the amount of kwororan. Some felt that it should be fairly small, running from one to two pounds in cash value for the soap, cloth, pomade, perfume and other female sundries of which it was made up. But the amount is indefinite and there is room for haggling. One informant reported being told by a young girl's luwali that although he was certainly the favoured suitor another man of higher rank had been offering a slightly higher bridewealth payment. The anxious suitor was

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(1) The Kanuri never use the verb "to buy" when referring to marriage, substituting instead the verb "to take". This was explained as being a necessary distinction in the old days when concubines could be bought in the markets, while wives were always married, i.e. "taken".

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encouraged to increase his bridewealth offer and also to increase his kwororam gifts to the girl's grandmother (she had no mother in the compound) in order to increase his chances of acceptability. Only after enlarging his offer and his kwororam before witnesses did the anxious suitor discover that he was the victim of a ruse, and that there was no other bidder for the girl.

The kwororam is not considered part of the bridewealth within this present discussion or by the Kanuri themselves because it is not necessarily returnable by the girl's family if the arrangements proceed no further. It is therefore exactly what its name implies, a fee or set of gifts given for the privilege of asking and smoothing out any opposition from female relatives to the future negotiations between the girl's guardian and the would-be suitor.

The kwororam applies only to non-preferential virgin marriages.

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It is not practised in cousin marriage because these unions are arranged years before they are consummated. In non-virgin marriage the money and gifts which the man gives to the woman while he is sleeping with her, as a divorced woman, serve instead as the initiatory behaviour which may or may not lead to marriage. The man may also give small gifts of some cloth, soap, perfume, or other women's sundries to any senior female relative of the divorced woman, especially if she is quite a young girl or woman who values her elder's opinion.

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The Kanuri recognize that this practice has the utility of allowing some time to elapse while the parties prepare to go more deeply and seriously into creating the marriage relationship.

If there has been a kwororam, the luwaliram occurs one to three months afterwards. This payment is the largest single amount given by the male (with the aid of his supporters) to the female's group. It

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is arrived at through bargaining done between intermediaries for the husband-elect and the girl's luwali. The primary reason given for this use of intermediaries is that a man should not indulge in argument with his potential father-in-law. The luwali of the girl uses a number of arguments to persuade the suitor to raise the price of the luwaliram. Thus he tells of the qualities of the girl, her family connections, the large number of people to whom the luwaliram must be distributed, i.e. the people who have a claim or an interest in the girl's marriage. He often hints broadly at the gifts which the young man may expect from the girl's family to offset the expense of the payment, in order to assure the suitor that the bridewealth payment is only a returnable token which should be raised in order to add dignity and prestige to the entire affair. Most of it, in all likelihood, he suggests will be returned at the next ceremony (sada's) on the day of the wedding. The luwali also tries to assure the groom's party that the girl will have a very fine dowry of enamel plates, clothes, pots, pillows, mats, jewellery, etc., which will give the groom much prestige and perhaps even a source of capital. The luwali may complain that he is spending a lot of money on the dowry, which he feels must be compensated by a high bridewealth payment. The husband-elect, on the other hand, tries to point out through his intermediaries how much the marriage expenses in general are costing him and how the entire negotiation may endanger his socio-economic status. However, he must not push such an argument too far or his suit might be considered ill-advised. His best argument is usually a threat of withdrawal, or a feint in that direction, at which point the prices may be lowered somewhat as an inducement to his re-entry into the fray.

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The luwaliram payment is distributed by the luwali among the close bilateral relatives of the young girl, although he keeps a major

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portion of the money for himself.. The pattern emphasises the patrilineal group, especially the relatives living in close association with the luwali who are often as not his agnates. However, the girl's mother, her mother's brother and her mother's own parents, if present or nearby, always receive a small part of the luwaliran.

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With increased age and number of divorces, marriages become more and more an individual matter between the male and the female participants and the woman tends to take over the luwaliran payment for herself. She may be living with relatives at the time who often serve as her intermediaries and collect the payments for her. In this case she gives them a small amount of the luwaliran payment.

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With the completion of the luwaliran payment the final arrangements for the marriage are settled by the parties. The day of the wedding is set in the period of the next few weeks as well as the place of formalization and the price of the sada's, or second and final payment of the bridewealth. During the time of the luwaliran payments the man tries to iron out the details of the wedding party. How many drummers will there be? How many people are coming (if the girl lives in another town)? What will be the means of conveyance for her and her dowry to the house of the groom? Will many of the wedding party besides the girl's mother stay for the one week confinement period (if she is a virgin)? A score of such questions and decisions about them are usually discussed and agreed upon at this time.

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If the marriage does not take place after the payment of the luwaliran, generally speaking it can be expected that litigation of some kind will result. If the man breaks it off himself, then the girl's family (or the woman) usually feel aggrieved and try to keep some or even all of the payment. Contrarily, if the girl's family breaks off the wedding,

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691 the man requests that the luwaliram payment be returned to him (as it should be traditionally). Very often a man may try initially in the judicial proceedings to regain his entire investments, asking not only for the luwaliram, but a sum which includes his entire outlay of capital to date for the wedding. In such cases the position is usually just a beginning for bargaining. However, if the adjudicator can be convinced that the girl's or woman's group intended to defraud, or break faith from the very beginning of negotiations, the man might possibly be awarded more than just the luwaliram by the court. On the other hand, either party has the right of retraction before the formal wedding day ceremony (sada's) which for the man means forfeiture of his payments, and for the woman and her group, means repayment of the luwaliram to the rejected suitor. For example, in one case observed, a man was repaid his luwaliram because a higher bidder had come on the scene.

585 In the early morning on the day of the wedding the groom with his male friends and relatives, , along with male friends and relatives of the bride's household, meet at the household of the luwali, or at the house of a ranking person of the ward or town for the sada's. The tendency is to use the luwali's house more among higher ranks in the city, while lower status groups and rural people generally use the compound of a local ranking person. At this time the second and final payment of the bridewealth, the sada's is made. It is most commonly referred to in Maria Theresa dollars although most often paid in pound sterling. For peasant non-virgin weddings in the Magumeri area during 1956-7, the price seemed to be fairly standardized around the value of 4 M.T. dollars (28-32 shillings). The disposal of this payment is similar to that of the luwaliram.

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[436] The major part of the ceremony is given over to examining

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publically the gifts from the girl's family to the husband-elect. These can include such items as men's robes, pillows, mats, money, grain, sometimes a horse, or a saddle. Male informants expressed the opinion that the closer the gifts to the groom approximated the combined value of the luwalirum and the sada's, the more satisfactory was the entire affair. In only one case was such equivalence ever observed although (1) tales were told of others. These stories always referred to a lower ranking individual who had married the virgin ward of a rich, powerful person. The hero of the story was always spoken of as having been given a girl and a large amount of property equal to or surpassing his bridewealth payments. Taken for granted in these reports was the loyalty and service which the husband-elect gave to his benefactor both before and after the marriage. The only other incidence when gifts to the groom are of a grandiose nature occurs when both the girl's family and the groom are rich, powerful persons and there is competition in the gift giving.

All the males who attend this ceremony, contribute a little money to the groom. It is collected by the sowa kura (big friend) who serves as "best man" for the wedding. He gives the mallams who lead the prayers a little money, and presents the official or ranking person at whose house the sada's took place a small fee, if this person was not the girl's luwali and takes charge of the gifts to the husband-elect. During the entire wedding he pays the proper people, accepts gifts for the groom, brings him information as to what is going on and what is re-

- (1) In this case the virgin girl was being married, high above her status, to a highly respected and fairly well-to-do person, by local rural standards. The father-in-law (luwali in this case) felt that he must try to give this new husband as good an impression of the girl's family as possible, and please him in every way. Consequently, the gifts to the groom were much larger than usual.

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quired, heads the party bringing the bride to the groom's house, and generally acts as a middleman between the groom and everyone with whom the latter is supposed to have dealings. Informants commented that this allows the groom to remain unruffled by the many decisions and social obligations which are occasioned by the wedding ceremony.

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After the sada's and luraliran have been paid and the gifts to the groom exchanged the bridewealth payment is completed. However, there remain the rest of the marriage expenses which can be impressive. During the entire day of the wedding the kususu (female head of the wedding proceedings for the groom) demands that the groom supply the celebrating women with kola nuts and tobacco flowers for staining their teeth and pay any drummers who have been employed for the dancing celebrations. At a virgin marriage a special payment, the kusupuran, must be paid through the kususu (woman head of the wedding) consisting of a ram, soap, shoes, and kola nuts for the women. This expenditure is used for the performance of a special hair washing ceremony held on the first day of marriage. At all weddings the kususu requires a small gift for her services. This is carried over to the sowa kura (the "best man") who must also be given a gift of a robe and/or some money for his efforts at the wedding. When the groom's party (minus the groom) brings the virgin girl from her household a small payment of money (majila) must be paid to the eldest unmarried sister of the young virgin, if any reside in the compound, so that she will feel no jealousy and spite over her young sister's marriage.

Since the girl must traditionally arrive on horseback in any kind of marriage, the man holding the bridle and guiding the horse is given a small fee for the safe delivery of the bride. The wedding party of singing, joyful women must also be given gifts by the groom. At one

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virgin wedding in which 15 women had come thirty miles on foot with their little relative and friend who was to be married, each of them was given five shillings by the bridegroom, the girl's mother was given twenty shillings and the two drummers, who had accompanied the party, were given fifteen shillings each. The groom had also paid the expenses of the journey which included the rental of two camels for five pounds. In other words the journey had cost him somewhere around ten or eleven [583] pounds. His bridewealth payments had been eight N.T. Dollars and seventeen pounds sterling or about twenty pounds, which means that the bridal journey alone had cost him as much as half of his bridewealth payments.

Before the consummation in the privacy of his hut, the groom must bargain with the young bride over the feroran (consummation money, literally: the virgin's fee). This is usually achieved quite rapidly since there is a fairly standard price range of one to two pounds for this payment and agreement is commonly reached after a short conversation.

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One final point must be made about Kanuri bridewealth; this is the idea of use. Kanuri moral tradition defines the bridewealth payment as a transfer of property given for the use of the woman by her husband. This is not a static but a processual arrangement which changes its nature through time. Thus, if a woman leaves a man within the first 583 586 year after marriage, before he has had a chance to utilize her services in agricultural production, then he has "not had his money's worth" and requires some of it back. This applies just as well to women who are in seclusion; indicating that it is the total function of the woman whose use the male feels he has acquired. If a divorce results very rapidly after the marriage through any fault of the woman, the male usually feels aggrieved and demands that part of the bridewealth be returned. His

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explanation of the matter is that his payments merited him more use of the woman than he has received. However, after a year or so (varying with the amount of the bridewealth, the reasons for divorce, the age and number of divorces the woman has previously had) and increasing with time (i.e. use), the husband's claim upon the returnability of his bride-wealth diminishes. After a year and a half or so he can reclaim very little, except in proven cases of adultery, where he collects a money compensation awarded by the court. On the other hand, if during the first year of marriage, it can be proven by the girl and her family that the man has given offence or broken the rules, the marriage can be dissolved and the bridewealth forfeited.

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In practice, the system can be manipulated to the detriment of unsuspecting persons. One pathetic individual, who had been enticed into marriage with a virgin, found that the girl's grandmother with whom she had been living was against the marriage. Every time he left town for a day or two the girl's dowry was removed from the girl's hut and taken back to her luwali's compound across town where her grandmother lived. The husband had to threaten court action to get it back. The excuse used was that the girl's family was afraid of thieves. Gossip in the town judged that it was the grandmother who was hoping for a dissolution of the marriage. Townspeople claimed that she was trying to anger the husband by taking the dowry and the girl when he went away and only returning the girl when he came back. The matter soon came to a head when the husband decided to move to the city and take his wife with him. The girl's family disagreed and the matter went to court. The luwali and the grandmother accused the husband of mistreating the girl and claimed that the marriage should be dissolved with forfeiture of the bridewealth. The husband defended himself by saying that he had

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583 only been married two months and had received no use of his capital out-
 593 lay, therefore he would only give the girl back if his total marriage
 602 expenses were returned. He calculated the amount to be twice the bride-
 586 wealth. The judge ruled that since he had only slapped the girl a few
 [695] times there were no grounds to the charge of mistreatment and the hus-
 band should take the young girl to the city with him and try to straight-
 en out his marriage difficulties.

The girl's family then told her to go to the city but not
 play the role of dutiful wife. Her luwali bragged publicly that she
 would be returned quite willingly by the husband inside of a week (it
 was actually three weeks before the girl did return). That is to say,
 it was predicted by the luwali that the husband would break up the mar-
 riage and send the girl out of his house, thereby forfeiting the bride-
 wealth. Once in the city the girl cooked badly, quarrelled with her
 co-wife, emptied the poor man's prayer pot when she needed water, and
 in a hundred little ways made his life miserable. However, she commit-
 ted no one great offence which the husband felt he could legally get
 (1)
 hold of as a respectable person.

In the end, he lost his temper and told her to get out and
 go back to her family. Before doing so, he recounts how he first gave
 her a sound beating in order to get at least that much satisfaction from
 such a material loss in his investment; for in sending her home he was
 breaking up the marriage and thereby forfeited the bridewealth.

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 593 It will be noticed in the above example that the independent

- [691] (1) The range of complaints for which people will seek adjudication varies
 [184] with socio-economic and rural/urban status. It is an upper class
 norm to keep most marital problems private unless it is absolutely
 necessary to go to court, while in the hamlets a woman was observed
 who, with her agnatic kin as supporters, brought her husband to court
 for having had sexual intercourse too frequently and wanted the
 judge to limit his advances by a ruling of the court.

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movement of the bride and her dowry from the husband's residence angered him. This should not be taken to mean that the husband feels he owns the dowry. His claim to the dowry is similar (not identical) to his claim to the woman, i.e. he has certain privileges over her use which are conditional upon his living up to her expectations and those of her family (if she is a young girl) of being a good husband. Dowry and bride are called the same thing (larusa) and are related in people's minds as a unitary phenomenon which comes to a man's house as the result of his marriage negotiations and the payment of bridewealth. Therefore, loss of dowry implies partial loss of bride. Usufruct of bride and dowry by the husband is however different, for use of dowry is dependant not upon the formation of a marriage but upon husband-wife relations. The husband may in time gain access to the dowry as a source of capital, if his wife trusts him. This occurs however only after long periods of marriage. Even then the wife merely loans him some of her capital rather than giving it to him outright, and if he is clever he usually returns a little more than he takes. This is because the woman considers her dowry as part of her marriageable self; it helps define her social value as a wife or potential wife. A woman who had been married many years to the same man, when given a small gift of an enamel dish, put it among her possession and called it larusa (in this sense, woman's possessions). The man who gives bridewealth for a wife gains her services as a human larusa (a bride) but her will and partial independence is recognized in that he cannot take over her dowry carte blanche but must wait until the relationship between them is sufficiently durable and trustworthy so that his use of her possessions is not open to suspicion of fraud. Since durable marriages are not very common, neither is husband use of dowry. A man who started using his wife's dowry without her knowledge and con-

583 A man who started using his wife's dowry without 114.
593 her knowledge and con-
[586] sent would have a fine argument on his hands immediately and most prob-
[685] ably a divorce proceeding. One mother turned her young adolescent son
156 over to a judge for a whipping because he took one of the enamel plates
583 from her dowry to sell for cash. A woman's concept of her own personal
worth is tied closely to her dowry. During her youth, it is the material
expression of her relationship to her own family background. Later, as
her independence grows and she adds to the dowry, she looks on it more
as her personal property, her savings, which give her a measure of value
[685] in her immediate society. She can say of herself that she has 250 enamel
dishes, while her younger co-wife has only 125.

581 The Kanuri recognise different varieties of marriage and
have separate terms for each of them. Whether these are in fact dif-
ferent forms is a question of interpretation which will be discussed
later.

The first and most important distinction about a marriage
concerns the virgin status of the woman. This consequently divides all
marriages into two broad categories depending upon whether or not the
female has ever been married before. If she has, the marriage is descri-
bed as kanu gwojin (he takes a woman). Conversely, if the female is a
virgin, the union is termed a fero gwojin (he takes a girl or virgin).
All informants agreed that union with a virgin is the most highly valued
form of marriage in their society. They explained this by pointing to
the chaste state of the girl. She is not used, they say, and this is
[832] good. However it should be noted that informants were also agreed that
virgin girls were not sexually exciting or attractive. One informant,
a man of about forty years of age was observed in almost constant prayer
for a whole week preparing for his first night of virgin marriage which
very nearly ended in failure, only succeeding on the second attempt with
the aid of magical devices.

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the aid of magical devices.

Besides the greater elaboration and expense of a virgin marriage it is also distinguished by the delivery of the woman's dowry (larusa) to the groom's compound the day after the wedding. In non-virgin marriages the dowry is brought with the woman on the wedding night. This is due to the necessity of proving the virgin status of the young girl. Her material goods cannot be brought over to the husband's house until the terms of the contract are acclaimed as valid. If her virginity is questionable on the marriage night, then a litigation either in or out of court begins, wherein her status as a virgin must be re-assessed and the entire marriage arrangement re-evaluated. The whole community is witness to this validation since the successful deflowering is made public in the middle of the night or early morning by a procession of women of both families, friends and neighbours, who go round the town beating enamel basins, with a drummer in the lead. This serves as an announcement of the marriage consummation and of the discovery of the girl's virgin status by her husband. If there is no procession every one knows something is amiss. Among more traditional families, the groom announces the successful test by emerging from his hut immediately after defloration to shoot a gun into the air.

The second classification of marriage is the kamu gwojin (he takes a woman) which means marrying a woman who has already been married before and is now divorced. There is a great deal of variation in the initiation of such a marriage, but as a general rule it is carried on with much less ceremony and a far greater degree of individual choice is exercised by the couple themselves. This freedom increases with age as well as being more common for all ages (except first marriages) among the lower ranks of society. As a man and woman grow older they demand

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As a man and woman grow older they demand and are given progressively more independence of choice in all matters including marriage. This is more likely among the peasants. For here second marriages are not as likely to be used as mechanisms for creating, strengthening and maintaining relationship by the girl's luwali to whom it is traditional to return on the occasion of divorce. It is more likely that the upper class woman will come under the power and authority of her luwali in subsequent marriages than the lower class person who is left freer to make her own liaisons. The upper class woman although not in purda during her divorced status must be much more delicate and restrained about her movements. This necessity to maintain an appearance of probity lends itself more easily to the manipulation of the upper class woman by her luwali after her first one or two divorces than does the relative freedom of the lower class woman. Among all classes an extremely young divorcee of under fifteen is almost sure to have little freedom of choice for her second husband, although cases of such early divorce are rare.

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During the harvest season (November to February) divorced women (gover) are more serious about trying to pin down one of the temporary liaisons to marriage. Men at this season are similarly inclined but tend to shop around a little before settling on one choice, unless their minds were made up before the harvest season opened. With a few exceptions (notably female) both sexes consider married status desirable and for a man, having two wives is better than having one. The exceptions to this rule are women who are either very attractive to men and thus enjoy themselves economically and sexually as unmarried women, and/or women who refuse to give up their independence for marriage. These factors are often related and as we shall see there is room for the expression of all of them within marriage. Men marry if their harvest

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Men marry if their harvest

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money holds out longer than their shopping, and their aspirations fit their resources. Generally speaking men can obtain a wife within their price range. The variation in expense for marriage with a divorced woman is large, but is lower than a virgin marriage at any one level in the society. The entire affair can cost as low as two to four pounds (\$5.60 to \$11.20 in 1955-7) or approximately 11% of the smallest annual income recorded (twenty-seven pounds in cash and kind). The number of times a woman has been married and her class status determine the extent of the bridewealth. One informant, a man of about 33, married a woman of similar age. The entire bridewealth did not exceed four pounds in value even though the woman was fairly "well-connected". Her father's brother, with whom she was visiting at the time of the marriage, was a court official in the District Headquarters, and she herself was an urban woman. The informant stated that the bridewealth was to be very small because, "She had been used very much", i.e. she had been married and divorced many times. This meant that her services and favours had been granted to many others, and that she was prone to this kind of behaviour. Thus, no very good assurances could be given from past performances that the projected marriage would last very long (the informant divorced her five and a half months after the wedding). Therefore no great investment in her as wife could be made.

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Men desire wives primarily for their cooking and food-producing skills, although other factors such as culturally prescribed propriety, sexual abilities, personality attributes, family background etc. all play a part in the choice of any particular woman. Some men also claimed that they would prefer to marry high ranking, rather than wealthy women, if forced to choose between these two qualities. Women generally replied in the reverse, i.e. they would prefer to marry wealthy rather

581 than high ranking men, if they had to choose between these two attributes
581 in a husband. This type of distinction was more easily elicited from
369 urban persons or upper class informants than from rural peasants, who only
565 discuss such a question in a fantasy-like conversation which many are not
willing to do. Lower class informants in the rural areas often refused
to consider questions about whether they would like to marry wealth or
rank answering only "andi tala" (we are peasants or commoners).

581 Crosscutting the foregoing classification of marriage with
virgins or non-virgins are several subclassifications which describe in
a somewhat sharper fashion the nature of the relationships involved in
the contraction of the marriage.

581 According to custom any variety of marriage may be a nyia
593 kulle, a marriage of seclusion or partial seclusion. In practice, this
565 kind of marriage is almost totally restricted to the upper classes and
usually implies only a partial seclusion. The woman may go out to visit
under cover of darkness and escorted, or may even go out of the compound
during the day, again escorted, for some very special reason such as a
rite de passage ceremony which she is obligated to attend. One very high
ranking District Head claimed that his senior wife, who had been married
to him for many years, had never been out of his compound except when he
changed Districts, and once when he had arranged an escorted trip to
Mecca for her.

Women of this kind are exempt from any of the ordinary wifely
duties which take them beyond the compound walls, such as getting water
at a public well, or helping on the farm, etc. It is no wonder then
that such marriages are almost totally restricted to the households of
the higher ranks of society. No man wishes his wife to be seen exces-
sively in public. However it is only the rich and powerful who can afford

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565 the luxury of female seclusion to the degree that their wives' only functions are sexual intercourse, raising children, and preparing food. Generally speaking women value the higher status conferred by such marriages. However one woman in Magumeri felt that she had very little social life and complained of loneliness. She claimed that a secluded marriage in the city is preferable because there are more women of her class to visit her and more special events for her to attend.

582 The Kanuri practice preferential cousin marriage (nyia durbe). Such unions are possible with the offspring of father's brothers and sisters, and mother's brothers. Interview material and genealogical data indicate that roughly 1/4 of all males questioned have married a cousin at some time. However most males marry from three to six times during their lives which reduces the incidence to about 1/20 of all marriages contracted. No person questioned had ever married more than one of his available cousins. Most of these were older men between the ages of 45 and 60, although two younger unmarried males stated that they intended to marry a cousin.
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582 For the most part the older men who had practised preferential
565 marriage were either upper class members or connected to patrilocal
596 extended family groupings with fairly long associations to the household unit in which they lived. Although they could not give the names of their third and fourth ascendant generation members, long since dead, they knew that these had lived in this same place. The evidence therefore points to a higher incidence of cousin marriage in relation to upper class status and settled patrilocal family life in one locality.

- (1) Both of these men married in 1957, one to the expected cousin, the other to a high ranking official's daughter. The one who married his cousin had a higher social status to begin with than the one who did not.

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In almost half the cases of cousin marriages recorded they are first marriages for the man. On the other hand it is quite rare, female speaking, for cousin marriage to be anything but a first marriage. This is due to the usual method of inception in which the girl is promised as a small child to the boy at his circumcision. If the young girl is given to the boy and comes to live with him in his compound then he is more in the position of guardian to her, or adoptive father, and marriage does not result. If the girl remains in her own compound, or in others, the boy may marry her. In either case he has the primary rights of marriage dispensation over her from that time on. One informant described his own experience with the girl he was just about to marry in the following terms:

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When I was kaja (circumcised) the girl was given to me; she was only eighteen or nineteen months old at that time; she had been weaned about one month. When I was kaja, they gave me a spear, a watch, a ring, a sword, many robes, and a fine hat (the informant is the eldest son of a well established Village Head). Then my abagana (Fa-Yo-Bro) came and said, "Stand up". We were thirty-five kaja boys at that time, all clothed and taken care of by my father; my father has many chu'una (namesakes). (The informant means here that his father had given each of the boys a robe, he also means that some of the thirty-five boys were being totally supported by his father). My father's mother sat very close to me; she raised me as a child. She said, "Do not stand up for your abagana (Fa-Yo-Bro) unless he gives you his girl." All my family and friends came and brought many gifts. Then my abagana came and put two pounds into my pocket, and said, "Stand up", and I said to him, "No you must finish our custom." After a while he said to me, "I give my girl Palmatta to you". Then my father's mother said, "We agree with you, and she is now our girl."

Today this custom can be practised any time after the circumcision by mutual agreement of the parties involved, although traditionally it is supposed to be carried out at the circumcision.

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In the one case observed of a non-virgin cousin marriage the informant was a slave of very low status who had married a divorced woman who was his Mo-Bro-Da (she was not a slave). The woman was extremely

587 independent and dominated the marriage completely. A situation she
567 found easier because of her cousin's low status and his general tim-
593 idity as a person.

582 One of the primary functions of cousin marriage is its main-
tenance and strengthening of already existing relationships. One in-
formant exemplified this generalization by saying that he wanted to
practise cousin marriage because the girl was his karami (younger sib-
ling), the daughter of his Pa-Ol-Bro. Therefore she would never tell
embarrassing things about him or complain of him outside his own group.
This results from the fact that her agnatic relations, to whom she
(602) would presumably gossip, are his as well. In other words, by contract-
ing this kind of marriage the informant was avoiding any intimate re-
lations with an agnatic group other than his own, and he liked the idea.
All informants agreed upon the tougher texture of such marriages. One
informant explained that he was marrying his cousin (his Pa-Bro-Ba) so
that he could maintain close relations to his parents with whom he had
(606) ceased to live. He said that his father, although he could ordinarily
never enter a hut alone with his son's wife, could now do so because
she was also his brother's daughter. The same thing occurs in other
marriage taboos with in-laws. Thus the restrictions on marriage behav-
iour are relaxed, and the total amount of interaction among the affines
is much greater and friendlier while no new relationships are created.

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582 In practice, although universal lip-service is paid to the
desirability of cousin marriage, its low incidence indicates its low
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popularity among a majority of the people. In discussing the matter

(178) (1) The nature of cousin marriage contraction, i.e. at puberty ceremon-
ies, plus the fact that it is mostly from older men that records
of cousin marriages are obtained, suggests that this custom has been
declining in practice in the last two decades.

581 In discussing the matter
 582 further, informants always point out the relative difficulty of divorce
 602 in such marriages as well as the lack of personal independence. The woman's relatives, who are also ego's (male speaking), always try to patch up the differences between her and ego, and scold him for not being "good" to his little sister. On the other hand, the move towards semi-independence, signalled by marriage, is restricted by cousin marriage. In-law avoidance which draws a man to his wife, and she to him as a social unit set apart from their own descent backgrounds, is much weakened in this kind of union, which makes it more difficult for a man to express any individual independence of his kin group.

582 The next type of marriage to be considered is the nyia kam
 557 rukatabe (marriage of pleasure). The expression means marriage to a man of wealth or high status, i.e. marriage with one of his daughters or with one of the girls over whom he has rights of marriage dispensation. The closer the girl comes to being the actual biological daughter of the wealthy and/or high ranking man, the more highly valued the marriage becomes. The term also describes marriage to a wealthy and/or high ranking woman.

One common form of this marriage occurs in the following manner. A person subservient to a powerful household head may need a wife and make this known to the household head, as he invariably does, along with all of his other requirements. The superior then give his subordinate a girl from among the marriageable girls of the household, to whom the household head stands in the relation of luwali. By so doing, the household head strengthens his ties with his subordinate by extending their relation to include father-in-law/son-in-law. (1) It will

(608) (1) Ego always behaves to his wife's luwali in the same manner as he does to his wife's biological father, whether the roles are occupied by the same person or not.

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557 be remembered that a bride's family is traditionally of higher status than a groom's. In this situation we see the perfect fit to the traditional evaluation of status between a man (and his group) and his in-

[583] laws. The bridewealth is usually not excessive since the entire set of arrangements takes place within the extended household organization of one wealthy and/or high ranking man. This does not mean that the groom must live inside the superior's household, for the organization may encompass a group of households. The arrangement parallels the form of cousin marriage since two members within one organization are being married, rather than members from two separate and distinct organizations.

Another way of doing the same thing would be for the household head to find a girl from among the households of his friends or relatives and initiate the arrangements for a marriage between his subordinate and the girl in question. In this case the superior would almost certainly help the subordinate with gifts and loans of money. This kind of behaviour is very similar to that of a father obtaining a wife for his young unmarried son who lives in the father's compound. Consequently when a powerful household head arranges such a wedding for his subordinate he is acting like a father to his follower. Informants noted the similarity when they spoke of this kind of behaviour.

Where no strong relationship exists between two males a high ranking person may single out some individual, junior to himself in status, with whom he wishes to obtain a relationship and give him a fero (daughter, ward, girl), in order to create some obligation as a basis for their relations into the future. As a general rule the superior uses his powers of dispensation to maintain, create and strengthen supportive subordinates, while the subordinate invests his subservience to obtain the fruits of his superior's powers of dispensation.

582 For example, in 1930 the District Head of Mobber, who was in grave dan-
 557 ger of being dismissed from his position by the British, contracted a
 marriage with a daughter of the Waziri of Bormu. This was his own way,
 (1) the Kanuri way, of attempting to strengthen his waning political posi-
 tion in the State. He felt that a marriage link between himself and
 the household of the Waziri would make it more difficult for the higher
 powers to dispose of him, and would enlist the aid of the Waziri, the
 second most powerful man in the Kanuri political organization, on his
 [648] behalf. The British administration, however, did not take into account
 (2) the feelings of fathers-in-law for sons-in-law when judging political
 performance, and so the manoeuvre was in the end to no avail.

The nyia kam rukatabe can also refer to a marriage which is
 initiated purely for the sake of marrying a woman or a girl, whose
 attachment to ego will obviously profit him economically. She is often
 wealthy herself, or is a wealthy heiress. Thus a high ranking person
 was observed to spend a great deal of money (this might almost be termed
 an "investment") for a virgin girl who was the only heir of a rich old
 man of lower social rank to himself. Informants described this as a
 true nyia kam rukatabe (marriage with a rich man's girl).

582 By their very nature marriages of this variety are more com-
 587 monly of the virgin type. However, young girls who divorce and return
 557 to the households of their luwali, as tradition prescribes, very often
 565 can be utilized for such marriages in their second or possibly even
 third unions. . Since high ranking women are more often in seclusion
 there is a greater probability that successive dispensations after div-

(1) See above; chap. III.

(2) The official records do not give the actual biological linkage
 of the girl to the Waziri, and it is therefore impossible to tell
 what kind of a ward she was in the Waziri's household.

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orces can be made of them, since they more often feel compelled to return to the partial seclusion of their luvali's compound, especially during their younger years. Consequently, those in higher ranks not only command higher prices for the girls they dispense, both materially and in terms of social obligations, but get more chance to dispense the same girl, given the high divorce rate. The lower class girl very often wants much more freedom in her marriage choices after her first divorce than the high ranking woman. Thus class differences make for a higher proportion of "investment material" (i.e. dispensable women) for creating obligations where they are needed most, among the upper ranks of society. It should also be remembered that upper class households tend to be larger and thus in both absolute numerical as well as in terms of more utilization being made of the same girl, the high status individual can obtain "higher returns" (more obligations and relationships) from his rights of dispensation.

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Nya sada'abe - marriage of charity or gift marriage is similar in many respects to the foregoing except that the person receiving the girl or young woman (more often a virgin girl) is always a mallam (Koranic teacher-priest). Informants claim that such a marriage is considered to be a charitable act (sada'a) and confers honour upon the donor. In such cases such, if not all, of the gift giving by the male to the girl and her kin before the marriage is waived, except that in connection with the formalising ceremony on the day of marriage. To what extent the bridewealth is excluded varies from case to case depending upon the wealth or poverty, and power of the mallam in question, and

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(1) c.f. Ellison, R.E. op. cit. He calls this nya mallambe - a marriage with a mallam. This expression was heard, although informants preferred the term used here.

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793 the motivations of the luwali in giving his ward. It may be that the
583 mallam is attached to a large household organization. Then the marriage
[557] very closely resembles the previous type, except that the marriage pay-
ments to the girl's kin are reduced or waived because of the cultural
definition of such a marriage as a charitable act by the wife-giver.

581 Again, a man may wish to express his gratitude to a mallam
582 for supernatural aid in which the mallam utilized his special skills.
793 This can result from medical aid, divination, or charms provided by the
mallam. On the other hand, most individuals would be quite hesitant
about refusing the request of a mallam for a girl, if such were made,
because of the general awe in which he and his avowed supernatural pow-
ers are held in the public eye. For the same reason there is some
anxiety connected to the giving of a girl to a mallam, for if anything
should go wrong with the marriage and produce dissatisfaction on the
part of the mallam, his powers of retaliation are very great.

582 This does not mean that mallams themselves receive all their
793 wives through charity. One informant of about thirty years of age was
a peasant mallam, who farmed and lived in Magumeri. He wrote charms for
people, and officiated in a minor way at the ceremonies in his immed-
iate ward of town. He had been married six times, almost always to one
wife at a time, with the exception of about a one year period when he
had two wives in his compound. Of these six marriages only one had been
a hyia sada'abe (a gift marriage). He said that he preferred to obtain
his wives like any other man, then he would owe no one any special obli-
gations.

58 Hyia ardiabe (marriage by agreement) refers to marriages
where the man and woman involved have a strong desire to marry one ano-

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ther. The term "agreement" refers to the chief difference with previously discussed marriage types, for here the parties to the marriage are themselves the prime movers in its inception. As would be expected this kind of marriage union is most common among women who have been married before and through divorce have gained independence. The main responsibility for the decision to initiate the marriage comes from the man and the woman who are to be married. The connotation here is that the marriage is not being contracted for utilitarian purposes primarily, but rather for reasons of emotion, affection, and mutual desirability on the part of the couple. To the Kanuri who view marriage as being first and foremost a utilitarian relationship which creates satisfactory economic and social relationships, this marriage by "agreement" seems somewhat strange. Indeed, not many marriages of this type were referred to by informants.

That they do exist was indicated by one informant who told how he had made an arrangement with a young girl of his home town when they were both in their pre-pubertal period. They knew that they could not marry one another (a) because her luwali (guardian), in this case her father, controlled her first marriage, and (b) because of the differential ages at which the sexes customarily marry. The informant related how he was able, several years later, when he was about thirteen and the girl about eleven, (i.e. marriageable) to obtain a solution to his problem with the aid of a friend. The friend, X, aged about seventeen or eighteen, was in a family with slightly more resources than the informant's and his father wanted him to take a virgin as a first wife. X himself (according to the informant) desired a virgin whose own family valued her at too high a price for X's family to become seriously interested. The informant suggested to X that he marry his (the informant's)

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little sweetheart and keep her until he (the informant) was grown adult enough to have her as a wife for himself. Because the bridewealth was in the range of X's family resources, X's parents decided, after having the idea suggested to them by the informant, to obtain the informant's "intended" for their son. Needless to say, they knew nothing of the informant's long term plan to marry the girl eventually himself. When the informant was nineteen or twenty, his little childhood girl friend divorced X and married him. The informant did not know whether X ever managed to marry the girl of his own childhood dreams, but thinks he did.

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This rather extreme example is interesting for its illustration of how individuals growing up within a certain social structure can often work out arrangements whereby they skirt round the requirements of their culture, yet manage to maintain the system as a set of rules. The Kanuri recognize that all marriages cannot simply be lasting agreements made between groups of individuals comprised almost entirely of males, especially in Bornu where divorce is so simple and all relationships have a brittle edge.

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The final stage in independence is reached in the last variety of marriage, nyia kolatabe (marriage of discovery), which by its very nature is confined to non-virgin women. This is the most widespread form of marriage among the population, becoming common after the woman has had her first divorce (or second in some high ranking households). Informants claimed that in this type of marriage, "There is no arrangement, you only meet the woman somewhere and decide to marry her."

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Some Kanuri equated it with the Hausa tsintuna or propertyless marriage, i.e. where the kin are not involved either in the decision to marry or the exchange of property. There is, however, a bridewealth payment by the husband-to-be which is paid to the woman herself, and the marriage is still solemnized at a sade' ceremony as at all weddings.

587 is still solemnized at a sada'a ceremony as at all weddings. With her
562 growing freedom in life a woman exerts a progressively stronger independence in her marriage choices. It was observed (but not measured) that the rate at which this occurs in the life span of women is increasingly rapid as one descends the socio-economic scale, and increases as well with the number of divorces per woman.

567 To complete the discussion of types of sexual unions, it
595 might be well to digress slightly at this point to include a brief description of concubinage. A concubine (chir) is a female slave who obtains this status as a result of her birth as a daughter to a male slave (karliya); once having been ascribed the role of chir by her birth she is groomed for a life concubinage. She is considered part of the household property, the inheritable property of the agnatic lineage of her father's owner. She may be given away as a gift to someone (without a wedding) or she can be kept in the family of her father's master. Formerly she could be sold. Once she is sexually mature she is available sexually only to her master unless her master gives her permission to marry someone, for example, another of his slaves. Any children she has as a result of union with a free man, i.e. her master, are themselves free, for slave status is determined by that of the father. This means that the slave population in Bornu is reproducing itself only through the efforts of functioning male slaves who are producing children.

A concubine is primarily a sexual partner to her master and a mark of his high status. She is also a servant to her owner's wife who may use her to do household work, carry water, etc. In several cases slave owners told of using both male and female slaves for farm labour. There are no rules governing sexual intercourse with concubines as there

567 There are no rules governing sexual intercourse with 130.
 595 concubines as there
 [833] are with wives. A man may sleep with his concubine any time he wishes
 [941] or avoid her as much as he pleases, whereas it is mandatory that he
 spend alternate nights with wives even if one is menstruating. Con-
 flicts may arise between wives and concubines if the latter is overly
 567 favoured sexually by the husband. A more serious cleavage arises in
 595 the circumstances of the wife's being barren and a concubine having
 593 given birth to a son and heir to her master. It is known by all that
 428 one day the son will succeed to a large portion of his father's wealth
 plus his position as household head. In such a case the boy's slave
 mother knows that eventually she is to become the respected senior
 [109] woman of the compound in which she is now a menial. Although one case
 was observed, it must be emphasized that such instances are rare in
 554 the contemporary society. Only political leaders from the level of
 567 town head up, and hereditary nobles were observed to keep concubines.
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 178 An extremely wealthy trader, who felt very proud of his four wives in
 seclusion, answered that it would be improper of him to have a concu-
 bine because he was only a trader. Seventy-five years ago a man of
 his position would have had a score of them.

567 Several upper class informants speak of the traditional prac-
 595 tice of giving young concubines to upper class boys at their circum-
 281 cision, so that they might have a female of their own in order to learn
 178 about sexual intercourse. Because of the waning of the slave population
 numerically this practice seems to be dying out, (only one case of a
 male who had been raised in this way of the younger, 20 to 30 years ago,
 generation was recorded).

595 When a man marries a second, third, or fourth wife it is
 customary for him to give a sum equal to approximately half the luwal-

595 from to spouses living at that time in his compound. In addition he gives to his current wives presents of soap, perfume, clothes, etc. equal to about half the value of similar gifts given to the new bride. In practice this is extremely various, depending upon the wealth of the male, and his estimation of his present spouse(s)' potential jealousy and opposition over the new wife. One informant was observed who, after giving his wife a substantial cash gift (under half of the luwal-irun), matched the clothes given to his new bride one for one by gifts to his present wife. It is almost universally accepted that successive wives should be younger than one another. This is followed quite widely in practice, at least for the age difference between present wife (only one) and incoming wife. This insures that the authority and rank ordained by custom be represented by an age difference which always allows for a smoother operation of the principle that the wife already in the compound is kamu kura (senior wife).

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[589] Frequency figures on polygyny from Magumeri town are a-
typical because of its position as District Headquarters. This means
[125] that a larger proportion of single males are present than is usual in
[36] rural areas, especially since Magumeri is one of the smaller District
Headquarters, and the administrative personnel and their subordinates
(these latter are often single young men) make up a larger element of
the population than is commonly the case. The following table on num-
ber of wives is taken from figures gathered between July and November
(1)
of 1956, given by 78 household heads in the towns of Magumeri, Chingowa,
and Ngubura, which form a triangle to the south of Magumeri, each being
[585] (1) Therefore these data were collected before the harvest of the 1956
crop which brings on the marrying season. The respondents ranged
across an extremely wide range of occupations, but all kept up a
compound and all worked farms near their towns.

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five to six miles from the other. Nagumeri and Ngubura are market towns on the main road to the urban center, while Chingoun has no large weekly market and is off the motor road except for a few months in the wet season when its higher position on a ridge places it on the route of the rainy season road.

Frequency Distribution of Wives Among
78 Male Household Heads

Number of wives	0	1	2	3	4		
Number of males	6	33	31	5	3	Total	78 males
Total number of females	0	33	62	15	12	"	122 females

Thus a total of 78 males had between them 122 women as wives or an average of 1.56 women per man (polygynous households in sample = 50.0%).

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Although it is probable in the extreme that many of the household heads questioned have since changed either the number and/or the persons of their wives, it is felt that this distribution is a representative and reliable description of Kanuri polygyny.

The quantitative data given gives strength to the qualitative observation that it is just as common to see a man with two wives as it is with one in peasant households. This means that we may evaluate Kanuri polygyny as a well-integrated cultural element that is not only practiced by the wealthy and the powerful, but which has real meaning and behavioural consequences throughout all levels of the society.

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In the marriage relationship itself, cultural tradition directs that the male play the dominant role. He gives his wife (or wives) their market money weekly, their millet for cooking from his granaries, and among high status persons, he usually keeps them secluded as much as possible in his compound. He supposedly makes the major decisions concerning himself, his wife and children, and their

593 activities. That is to say, culturally speaking, there is an ideology
[124] of male dominance in the husband-wife relationship. This prescription
for male superiority was enacted one day by a female entertainer who at-
tempted to teach the anthropologist's wife the proper manner for ap-
proaching the presence of a husband. She came in as if bearing food
and went down on her knees with her head bowed to one side and eyes
downcast, while demurely presenting the offering to her lord and master,
and then quietly removing herself. Although this was all performed in
a theatrical manner, the attitude of submissiveness was the lesson
833 being taught. Again, although sexual experimentation is highly thought
562 of by some males, it is generally frowned on for the male to assume a
position underneath the woman during coitus. This is rationalized by
the belief that the semen will run back into the male and "go bad",
causing disease, i.e. something bad will result from a male allowing
829 a woman to lie on top of him. This is reminiscent of the claim of one
554 very high ranking Kanuri nobleman who, when discussing apartment build-
ings in America, disdained this architectural concept as distasteful to
himself, unless only he and people of equal rank were allowed living
quarters on the top floor.

593 The observed facts of interpersonal relations in marriage
183 are enormously various, and a full circle of almost complete conformity
to complete denial of the cultural ideal can be seen in almost any
Bornu town where there is a representative sample of the various strata
of Kanuri society. The following are some of the major variables oper-
ating in the marriage relationship which affect the extent of denial or
conformity to the ideology of male dominance.

1. Age Differences593
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(582)
(581)

It is much simpler for the male to exercise control over the behaviour of very young girls, especially the young virgins of nine to thirteen years, when they are first married. This is another reason for the attractiveness of virgin marriage, for in this situation, the cultural ideal of male dominance is most possible. To a lesser extent because of the operation of other factors, large age differences between husband and wife, when the husband is the elder, make his dominant role more accessible. This is due to the general respect given to age in the society and may be one of the reasons behind the value placed upon the union of a man to a woman who is younger than himself.

2. Number of Marriages593
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As a woman increases the number of her divorces and experiences progressively more independence and freedom in her sower (divorced woman) status, it becomes more and more difficult for her to assume the submissive role required of her by her culture. As we have seen the amount a male is willing to pay for a woman decreases with the number of her past divorces, for he knows she has not had a past history of long term submission to one man, but rather a series of marriages which were broken by some disagreement between her and her husband. The number of her past divorces indicates her willingness in the past to break the marriage rather than submit to her husband's will or it represents her husband's dissatisfaction with her behaviour, which also points to her inability to conform to the cultural ideal of wifely virtue. Thus the number of divorces a woman has contracted is both a measure of her desire for independence and also a stimulus to the development of more independence, rather than submissiveness.

3. Length of Marriage

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The longer a couple remain together, the greater the intimacy that grows up between them. Marriages that often begin with the male in the dominant role, leave gradually with the years. The woman comes to know more and more of her husband's hopes, fears, ambitions, sorrows, and responsibilities. As this occurs she assumes more and more of the role of trusted friend and partner to his decision making, and finally a point may be reached where the man will admit confidentially that he would not make any major decision without consulting this particular wife, because she is so used to sharing in his life that she would be hurt and angry if not consulted. After a very long period of such a partnership, a man who makes a decision against his wife's judgment, usually has quite a battle on his hands.

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With the longer term of residence in the husband's compound and the birth of children, especially sons who will continue the patrilineage into the next generation and maintain the household and their mother in her old age, the wife slowly begins to shift her primary affiliations from her own agnatic group over onto the household organization of her husband. Along with this shift the husband's agnatic group, especially the son (s), feel that the household organization includes as a primary senior participant, their mother who by formal definition is, of course, an affinal relation in the household, but who through long years of residence in the compound of her husband, has come to be identified as one of its basic, stable, human components.

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This variety of long term marriage is more common among the upper ranks of society where more women tend to remain longer with their husbands, than among the peasant classes. Usually only one wife is involved, even if there are others. This is often accompanied by a

593 This is often accompanied by a
595 more rapid turnover in other wives who tend to resent the close re-
586 lationship of the longer term wife with the common husband.

4. Status of Wife's Family

593 Among marriages where the woman or girl has come from a
565 higher ranking family than the man's, the woman has a potential lever
which she may use to ameliorate male dominance. She realizes that her
husband's connection to her family is one of the foundations of his
social status and ease of divorce makes her connecting function some-
[602] what tenuous. On the other hand, her family may be interested in main-
taining their relationship with her husband, and thus attempt to limit
her behaviour to a position more in line with cultural ideal of sub-
missiveness, in order to keep her husband satisfied, as well as honour-
ing their own positions as givers of not just wives but of "good" wives.

5. Personality Factors

593 Needless to say, the particular personality make-up of the
156 husband and wife helps determine whether or not the traditional pat-
tern of male dominance is possible. Fearful, timid, submissive men do
not make strong, dominating husbands, while independent, strong-willed
women do not easily become subservient, humble and docile wives. The
cultural pattern may be reacted to in different ways. It is anxiety
provoking to those men who fail, or are afraid of being unable to dom-
inate, while it may serve as an outlet for aggression and hostility on
the part of disappointed men who have failed elsewhere in their lives.

6. Socio-Economic Status of the Husband

593 As was noted above, a man needs a wife to cook his food and
557 return hospitality, as well as to provide food for men who have no
wives, which helps create obligatory relationships for the male. The

593 wife (non-secluded) is also a productive asset in farming activities.
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[558] Women are fully aware in every marriage they enter to what extent their husbands are dependent upon them for the maintenance of their socio-economic status in the community, and are fully prepared at all times to manipulate their husbands, using the threat of easy divorce to break down his traditional right of domination and assert their independence within the marriage relationship. This obtains in economically low status households where the man has some difficulty in obtaining enough capital to marry. In its extreme form, given a timid husband with one wife of low status socially and economically, and an independent woman, this variable may create a completely female dominated household. Other men tend to gossip about such marriages speaking of them as ridiculous jokes upon the poor, weak husband and scandalous, shameful behaviour on the part of the wife who usually includes open sexual freedom as a part of her dominant position. When questioned about such marriages, however, informants adopt a somewhat fatalistic attitude and comment that there is nothing the unfortunate man can do, since he needs a wife so badly and has not the necessary economic power [183] available to him to assert his rights. Thus the cultural pattern of male dominance must be supported by real social instruments; if the male's status is overly dependent upon his wife, it becomes almost impossible for the cultural ideal of female subordination to function properly. This is why higher ranking males can expect higher accordance with traditional standards on the part of their wives. If they are successful men, then all they wish from their wives is good, proper, ethical conduct, which includes submissiveness. At this level, the married status of the woman requires that she must meet her husband's demands for wifely behaviour or he will get rid of her. The operation

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183 of the above variables make such conformity to cultural patterns extremely difficult among the lower status ranks of the population, i.e., for most of the people.

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562 Closely associated with the above factors, but not directly determinative of male dominance, are the Kanuri patterns of marital fidelity and divorce. Marital chastity is considered an ideal behaviour norm for both men and women, although almost the entire weight of the prescription falls upon the married woman, which is a logical consequence [554] of the cultural ideal of male dominance. Male marital chastity is given only sham acceptance as an ethical standard by most men, except for the most highly moral, such as some religious leaders aspire to, or very respectable judges, or any other person who wishes to set himself up as a paragon of virtue and reap the benefits of status which such a reputation confers. (1)

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[595] Men may marry up to four wives in the Mualin world and because there are always power (divorced women) in Bornu who are available sexually to men, there are a great deal of extra-marital sexual relations by men which for all intents and purposes are culturally sanctioned. In other words, social reality and every day ethical standards give to men much freedom of sexual behaviour at all times whether or not they are married. This holds true for a bachelor, as it does for a man with one, two, three or four wives. On the other hand, a woman is supposed to turn on and off her sexual freedom in and out of marriage. While married, cultural norms prescribe that she make herself

[229] (1) The Kanuri believe that strict adherence to all moral injunctions of their culture is so difficult and so rare that any person actually practicing such a life of complete moral integrity is very "powerful." His sanctity is so great as to render his person actually dangerous; so much so, it is related, that even the clothes of such a man have power to inflict good or evil on others.

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available only to her husband and this turns to sexual freedom and experimentation when she is a divorced woman. (1)

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This results in much marital infidelity on the part of married men and women. As we have seen, this can take a sanctioned and an unsanctioned form for men, while for married women any extra-marital sexual intercourse is considered to be adultery. Thus X, a Kamuri man, well known for his extra-marital sex relations woke up a local official late one night and asked him to come and see the woman whom X had brought to his compound. This was to ensure public recognition of the fact that he was sleeping with a power (divorced [593] woman) and not someone's wife. When asked what his wife thought of his behaviour X replied that she did not like it. He added that it was none of her business and she could leave him if she wished.

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On the other hand, Kamuri men are usually extremely suspicious of their wives. One man whose wife attended local dances used to come to these evening celebrations to make sure that no one shone a flashlight on his spouse while she was dancing. The only time that this did occur the husband reported the incident to the Village Head who in turn locked up the voyeur for the night. This same woman was observed on several occasions entering single men's sleeping huts while her husband was away on trading trips.

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Even one seemingly submissive woman, the wife of an upper class man, was observed to blossom out suddenly and visit strange

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(1) This is not meant to imply that the woman has complete freedom, even when divorced. A woman may have one or two men supporting her and sleeping with her while she is divorced (one at a time is more common), often for only periods of a week or two at a time. Women who sleep with too many men at the same time while divorced are considered bad marriage risks and tend to be regarded as acting somewhat more like a prostitute, rather than a divorced woman, who should really be going through a series of "trial" marriages, one of which will eventually lead to the real thing.

837 households when her husband was away. Several informants remarked that it was apparent, now her husband was away, that she wished to have some tum-tum (pleasure, with a sexual implication).

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Whether or not the husband is away, women must leave the compound for ceremonies, water carrying, helping other women to prepare for ceremonies, going to market, etc. Only men with wives in seclusion can restrict, and then only partially, female activities beyond the household. Within this framework, all Kanuri men know from their own experience how easily liaisons can be set up with married women, and therefore become anxious and mistrustful of wives who leave the compound too often.

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The covert subversion of marital fidelity norms is also illustrated in the role of the sarsar. The sarsar is an old woman who for a fee, acts as an intermediary between a man and a married woman in promulgating a future marriage between them, which presumes the divorce of the woman from her present husband. The relationship arranged between the man and the married woman by the sarsar often [684] infers an adulterous sexual union as well. If discovered by the husband, the old woman is often taken into court with her male employer and fined heavily. However, among males who value their respectability, the old woman is usually warned at first to stay away from the compound, and the wife admonished not to have anything to do with her.

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Another illustration that documents the social recognition of female desire for sexual freedom is the concept of tarwo which refers to walking about looking for a partner for sexual intercourse. Any man or woman walking about the town alone is suspect of tarwo. There are a few definitive signs such as man having his hat pushed for-

832 ward or a woman talking to men out in the open beyond her compound
832 walls, or immoderate behaviour at a dance. However, the conditions
831 are extremely vague and really boil down in the last analysis to a
recognition of universally held motivations rather than any definite
behaviour. Informants simply take it for granted that almost any one,
including the anthropologist, indulges in sexual intercourse of illi-
cit nature given the opportunity.

831 The extent of male dominance is not the only variable con-
833 trolling the incidence of adultery among females. There is also the
appeal of skill, attraction, and variety in sexual experience. The
Kanuri value skill in intercourse and value the experience itself as
a highly pleasurable one which varies greatly from person to person.
For example, informants seemed agreed on the pleasure-giving attributes
of certain physiological variations in the male and female genitalia,
and scaled these as being better or worse for sexual intercourse.
Consequently, wide sexual experience is desirable from the point of
578 view of sensual pleasure. Besides this sensual factor, the writer re-
837 ceived the impression that there is a covert recognition of a general
female desire to subvert male dominance. This seems to be expressed
in the attempts by women to obtain sexual freedom, which the male
practises, but forbids and tries to prohibit to the female. This lat-
ter point was illustrated over and over again by the attitudes of some
of the younger more vocal wives, who constantly joked about adultery or
made allusions to it, as a kind of game or trick that a wife plays on
her husband.

837 One final point can be made about the locus of marital in-
628 fidelity. As will be shown later, groups of Kanuri towns and villages
are joined together into marketing communities. Furthermore, well

837 established small wards and hamlets are the bases of networks of re-
628 lationships among the males. Men tend to find extra-marital partners
in wards, hamlets, and towns other than their own, within the market-
ing community, since the women of their own ward or hamlet are usually
the wives of their close friends and relatives.

586 It must not be supposed from the above discussion that there
is any positive evaluation of divorce in Kanuri culture. On the con-
trary, long marriages are valued and divorce is considered by many to
[123] be a melancholy breakdown of relationship. Thus the writer was asked
on numerous occasions to use his prestige in the community in order
to re-unite separated couples.

581 This desire for long marriages is expressed ritually at the
585 formalization ceremony (sada'a) on the day of the marriage. After the
(1)
fatiha prayer has been said by the assembled males, it is customary for
[829] the person who has been married the longest to stand up first. If a
European is present he fills the function, not because of his superior
status, but because European marriages are well known for their dura-
bility. Informants stated that this little ritual was an expression of
hope and a blessing on the present marriage for its long duration.

581 Personality factors, mutual affection and trust, prefer-
ential marriage, economic benefits, prestige accorded by the union to
either party and/or their families can all contribute to the stability
of marriage. Furthermore, it may be generalized that the longer the
term of marriage between a man and a woman, the greater the chance that
586 their marriage will continue. Most divorces seem to take place in the
first two years of marriage for non-virgin marriages, and after about
four to five years in the case of first marriages (of females).

(1) The first verse of the Koran.

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Nevertheless the incidence of divorce is very high and only exceptional women marry as virgins and remain married all their lives to the same man, while practically all men divorce a wife at least once in their lives. The average figure is about three to four divorces per person (from qualitative observation and genealogical records) during a life span. The reasons given for divorce run the complete gamut of dissatisfaction that a man and a woman can complain of in their relations with one another. ⁽¹⁾ Furthermore divorce is very easy to institute, being merely an act of personal will by either partner to the marriage.

[692]

A great many divorces are practised without resort to the formal proceedings of the Alkalai court. The woman leaves her husband's compound taking her property with her and returns (traditionally) to her luwali's (guardian) household, which usually means her parents. As we have said before, this is not always the case in later marriages. If the husband wants her back, he sends an intermediary to the house to which she has returned to plead his case. If he does not, then an intermediary may be sent from the house to which the girl has gone. This latter procedure is much less usual, since the girl's family is traditionally of higher status, and it is customary for the lower status group to visit the higher and not vice versa. If no intermediaries are used it is assumed that both parties desire a divorce, or if they are used and fail to obtain a reconciliation, then

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divorce follows. If any adjudication is required in the proceedings,

[692]

it is most commonly carried on by relatives, friends, ward heads and town heads.

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(1) c.f. Smith, V.O., op.cit. (1955) (p.63). Smith gives a list of complaints obtained from Hausa court records of divorce. All of his list of sixty-three complaints are applicable to Kanuri court proceedings on divorce.

586 town heads. Resort to higher courts occurs only in cases where settle-
692 ment by these local adjudicators is refused by one or both of the parties. This usually happens in the following instances: (1) annulment cases where there is a failure at consummation of the marriage; (2) when a man wants the return of the bridewealth because of his wife's request for a divorce only a few months after the wedding; (3) when there has been a beating which draws blood, thereby involving the litigants in an argument over blood money which must be paid by the assailant to the injured party and his/her family; (4) when any matter becomes so contentious as to be impossible to reconcile with the immediate help of relatives, friends, and local leaders.

586 Informants claimed that at least half of all divorces resulted in the remarriage of the couple. In light of the large number of divorces, this statement seemed contradictory to the observed facts
[192] at first glance. However, the Kanuri word for divorce (*dannyin*) really means "to leave a spouse", i.e. it makes no distinction between divorce and separation in its semantic reference, which is an accurate description of the facts, since all divorces begin as separations. When viewed in this light the informants' statements make sense, since many separated couples are re-united. The reunion of a man with his separated wife was described as being very informal and inexpensive. He merely gives a small gift to the woman and the relatives (sometimes) with whom she is staying, and she returns to his compound without ceremony. There is, however, a limit to the number of times a man and woman may separate and re-unite. The third time a woman leaves her husband's compound, she does so in the knowledge that return is impossible under the terms of Kanuri law. That is to say, after the first and

586 second separation reconciliation is possible, while the third constitutes an irrevocable separation, i.e. a divorce.

Among the manifold particularistic reasons for divorce, two major categories of dissatisfaction may be isolated. The first can be labelled "functional disputes". The woman complains that the man does not give her enough market money, or he does not like her, or he wants too much or too little sexual intercourse, while the man complains that the woman does not cook well, or enough, or on time, or does not perform some other womanly task properly. Sometimes, these may be real issues, at other times they serve as excuses for some other dissatisfactions which the man or woman may not want to make public. The second category has already been referred to in the discussion of male dominance. The behavioural responses by men and women to the cultural ideology of male dominance causes much dissatisfaction. The male complains that his wife has done something or continues to do something that he has repeatedly told her not to do, while the woman complains that her husband will not allow her to do things which she proclaims to be her right, such as visiting her parents, or going to a friend's house to have her hair done. The most common male complaints in this vein are, (a) "she goes to dances", or (b) "she will not stay in the house". The first of these (a) implies that the woman likes to go out at night against her husband's wishes to an activity that no man likes his wife to attend, since it is a common time and place for sexual liaisons to be made, or at the very least, for the advertisement of sexual charms. The second (b) is more general in that it includes the first, and refers to a generalized insubordination on the part of the wife.

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The discussion of marriage has served to illustrate Kanuri

/Kanuri 146.

437 The discussion of marriage has served to illustrate
583 attitudes and behaviour within contractual relations in which goods
and services are exchanged between persons and groups. Bridewealth
is given by the man and his group of relatives and friends to the girl
and her group. The closer the marriage is to being the woman's first,
the more likely it is that her luwali (dispenser of marriage rights)
and kin group take the bridewealth payments rather than the woman her-
(426) self. Men borrow from relatives, friends, and superiors to obtain the
(571) money for marriage expenses. Thus a man's social relational network in
Bornu is an important part of his capital reserve.

58 The Kanuri classify marriages into two major categories -
virgin or first marriage (female speaking) and marriage with a woman
who has been married before. Marriages are further subdivided on the
basis of the kinds of relationships established by the wedding. The
relationship between the man and woman may entail the seclusion of the
wife within the compound (nyia kulle). This is not strictly an either/
or category but rather a matter of degree, since all Kanuri men like
to see their wives remain in the compound as much as possible. However,
only the upper classes can afford to maintain and enforce such a re-
lationship. The remaining categories can be regrouped under two head-
ings. Firstly, there are marriages in which a man obtains a wife by
virtue of his relationship to an extended household organization and
its head. The household head uses his luwali role (and in some cases
his influence over other luwali) to either strengthen or create oblig-
atory relationships with other men. In some cases, these unions take
the form of cousin marriages (nyia durbe). In others, they merely
emphasize already existing superior/subordinate relationships, while
in still others, they serve as the initiating circumstance for an
attempt at such a relationship. As we have seen, gift marriage (nyia

58 sada'abe) in which a girl is given to a Koranic mallam also entails the mutual understanding of an obligatory subordination by the mollam to the luwali.

Secondly, in marriages of agreement (nyia ardiabe) and discovery (nyia kolatabe), the major arrangements are made between the man and the woman alone without recourse or subordination to a household head. These marriages illustrate the adaptation of marriage arrangements to the realities of Kanuri social life. Given the large population and the high divorce rate it is not possible or feasible for all weddings to function as mechanisms for strengthening and creating superior/subordinate relationships. And so this second variety of marriage arrangement operates because many women, especially as they grow older, are not willing to be pawns used for the purpose of defining relationships between men. By the same token, many men are not willing to become obligated to others through marriage.

593 In the marriage relationship itself, there is a conflict
183 between the subordination that most Kanuri men expect of their wives and what they actually experience. It is held that this conflict is due to the woman's ability to subvert the cultural ideal of male dominance through his dependence upon her for much of his own status in the community. This is less true among the upper classes where the
[565]
[586] man is less dependent upon the woman for his status, and at this level there are few divorces.

CHAPTER VI

[p. 148]

The Life Cycle

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In the material to follow it is taken for granted that Kanuri culture and society have a perpetuity beyond the individual life span. That is to say, there is a cultural tradition and an ordered social life into which the individual is socialized.

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As individuals pass through various phases of life in Bornu, they are at any one time identified as occupying one of a serially related set of roles, one for each sex. These are not the only roles occupied by members of the society. Kanuri social organization is complex and heterogeneous, so that an infant may be a farmer's infant, a blacksmith's, the child of a noble family and so on. However, everyone in Bornu is at one time an infant, a child, an adult or an old person and it is this universal set of serially related roles which is referred to here as the age status system. Although these roles are individually experienced they have their definition in the social life of the individual as he passes from birth to death. Thus, despite the fact that there is a rough correlation between age statuses and the physiological phases of life, a more profound and precise understanding of age statuses can be accomplished through a description of the social roles of developing individuals.

Birth

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At birth the mother is assisted by a midwife (sartama). Her own mother may be present if she is in the vicinity as well as other women in the compound and neighbouring compounds. The husband must set by a store of firewood which is used for hot baths around the time of parturition and during the forty-day confinement period after birth.

(846)

844 after birth. The birth takes place in a sitting position over a warmed wooden bowl. When the infant arrives it is washed and then continually warmed by the female attendants who heat their hands over [853] a dish of hot coals and then press the body of the child. Almost immediately attempts are made to have the infant feed at the mother's breast. The placenta is buried in the compound with no ceremony.

[782] Men are barred from any direct participation in the actual birth process, but usually pray heavily and/or employ a hailan (Koranic teacher-priest) to pray for the successful outcome of the 846 birth. During the forty-day confinement period there should be no sexual intercourse between spouses. Informants stated that strict [565] adherence to the forty-day confinement rule as well as the sexual taboo may vary among the poorer classes where the woman's economic services are more in demand. However, the first eight days after birth are universally accepted as a time of strict confinement and sexual abstinence.

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858 During the first eight days of life the infant is known as fatu (the little kitten) or kusoto gana (the little stranger) and is referred to when necessary in these terms. This is a strong tabu time for the parents, and they must be sure to maintain all cultural prescriptions to ensure the safety of the infant. Hardly any mention is made in public of the new arrival. Even its sex is unknown except by a few close female friends of the mother who are expected [766] to keep the secret. If it dies during this period, the infant does not receive a proper burial, but is unceremoniously interred in the women's section of the compound.

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On the Friday within the eight-day period, or several

On the Friday within the eight-day period, or several days before this if the child is born on a Friday, two or three

[824] kola nuts are sent to the males of the town who are friends and relatives of the household, as well as to important persons of the immediate area. This serves as an announcement of the birth of a new member to the household, and as an invitation to the naming ceremony which takes place on the eighth day after birth.

The Naming

553 On the morning of the eighth day after birth the formal
[562] naming ceremony (su) takes place. As to all public gatherings, men and women come and go separately. The women, bringing food and
[431] flour, arrive in single file, senior women in front of junior in
[576] rank, and pass, eyes downcast, into the compound to the women's section. The ground millet flour allows the young wife to cook for her husband during the next few weeks without going through the arduous
[302] task of grinding millet. The women sit out in front of the hut of the mother chatting gaily and colouring their teeth, while the mother
[304] remains in her hut. The barber arrives to cut the face marks and remove the uvula of the child.

[793] In front of the compound the men sit on either side of
[212] the entrance hut. On the left side (as you come out of the compound) a senior mallam, other mallams, and mallams-in-training, read the entire Koran by passing out several pages to each of the literates who have come for this purpose. On the right hand side of the entrance hut the men of the household sit on mats in order of seniority, with close friends or high status persons waiting patiently
[431] for the reading to finish and the name to be announced. All males usually contribute some money (two to five shillings varying up to one pound for high status visitors) as a token of friendship. The

553 money, which helps to allay the expenses of the ceremony, is collected by a close friend of the father of the new child. When the face marks have been cut, and the uvula removed, the father sends a subordinate to tell the women inside the name he has chosen for his^{child.} When the subordinate returns the name is supposedly revealed to the seated men. However, the father or his friend, who has collected the money, usually tells the gathered men at the same time as the women are being told. It is at this time that the sex of the child is made public. The Koran reading being finished the head mallam leads the entire male assemblage in the fatiha (first verse of the Koran) and the ceremony is over. Kola nuts are passed around to all males, as well as perfume for dipping the fingers, and prayer beads. Each reader of the Koran receives a few pennies, in addition, as a token of gratitude from the new father. He must also give a small present of money to the barber and the head mallam as well as the leading woman who helped organize the activities inside the compound. Each of these may receive a couple of chickens or more if the father is wealthy and/or wishes to give the impression that he is a "big" man.

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A ram is killed and cooked during the day by the women of the compound, their relatives and friends. The skin is given to the head mallam. Some food is given to the poor, and at the father's instructions, other portions are sent to the houses of relatives, friends and high status persons. The naming ceremony is a day of keen pleasure for the namesake of the new child, if he or she is present, for it is a public recognition of the respect and affection with which they are regarded by the family.

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Generally speaking, Kanuri names are passed on through alternative generations. Ideally a man and his wife take turns obtaining names from each of their descent groups. Some men insist that boys be given names from the patrilineal group, while allowing girls to be named after the mother's relatives. As we have seen, a parent may name his child after some high status person thus establishing what is hoped will be a fruitful namesake relationship.

551 There is a non-reciprocal name avoidance between ego and his parents, parents-in-law, and high status persons in general. In order to avoid using a name the parents give the child, a nickname which usually indicates his relationship to the person whose name he bears.

[553] Thus many young boys are called Aba gann (small father) or just Aba (father) which indicates that they have been called after the father of one of their parents.

Infancy

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For the first eighteen months (lunar) the child is referred to exclusively as a tiful (infant, baby) regardless of its sex. This period marks the beginning of the individual's incorporation into society. Its criterion is breast feeding. In social rather than individual terms the period is one of introduction. The infant is introduced to its family, to the friends of the family and to its community. Sibling rivalry is recognized and dealt with

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gently but firmly. The Kanuri believe that a sibling, especially one who shares one or both of his parents with the new arrival, may exhibit antagonism towards the baby. Very often the older sibling is sent off to a nearby compound, usually to a grandparent, for the period of the birth. It returns to receive gifts from the parents

858 on the day of the naming ceremony. This is believed to apply only
867 to young children under the age of five or six; older ones are sufficiently socialized so that rivalry presents no overt problem. At one naming ceremony a small girl of two and a half was observed being brought back from her namesake grandparent's compound where she had been living for the last week. She was admonished upon presentation to the new infant, "This is your new baby — be gentle with him and look after him." Both the little girl and her full brother aged nine or ten had been given small gifts that day, she, two little glass bangles, and he, a new shirt. Later, after the naming ceremony was over, many of the women in the compound devoted some time to playing with and showing affection to the two elder siblings and pointing out to them what a fine thing it was that they had a new little brother.

854 The new infant spends most of the nursing period with its mother although short sorties with elder female siblings occur now and then. The father although he sees the child often interacts very little with it. The infant learns very soon to sit quietly on the back of its mother while it is swaddled comfortably to be carried about. Toilet practices are simple at this time. At first the child is merely wiped clean by the mother. However, as soon as it can sit up, it is placed facing the mother, astride her ankles and with its back resting on her upturned feet. A little hole is dug in the sandy soil between the ankles and the child has a simple and comforting toilet ready-made for it by the mother. When the baby is finished, the mother washes its genital regions and/or anus with her left hand and covers up the hole. Babies wear only a small

854 shirt, and nothing below the waist, except when they are swaddled to the mother's back. When the baby defecates or urinates indoors, as is often the case, it is cleaned up with no great show of alarm, 853 until the end of the first eighteen months. Breast feeding occurs on demand, and is used as a pacifier.

Childhood

862 With the onset of childhood, which is formalized at eight-
[858] teen months by weaning, the overt pressures of socialization begin for
[114] the young child. No systematic data were gathered on the effects of this formal change-over from breast-feeding. Everyone knew of a wide range of variation in reaction on the part of the infants; some babies wean easily, others require much more training. In the latter case, the more stringent techniques are utilised, but still with a matter of fact, unperturbed attitude towards the inevitability of the weaning procedure.

In most cases the child has a female grandparent either in the compound or nearby. If not, then a senior woman of the compound or of the family helps with the weaning by offering her dry breast as a pacifier. The mother spreads the process over several months by constantly attempting to replace the breast with a cup. When the child runs to its mother desirous of the breast, the parent refers to it negatively, as dirt, or even excrement. With difficult cases bitter tasting grounds of brown leaves are put on the breasts to discourage continued efforts by the child to obtain the mother's milk.

597 It is just after weaning that most Kanuri adoptions take place. A very rough estimate of adoptions, taken from genealogical data, would put the figure at somewhere between 35-45% for the present

597 population of Bornu. The practice seems more frequent among the upper
[565] classes of society where the young child and his growing ability to contribute services to the household are a less vital consideration.

[603] As noted in the last chapter the most frequent destination of adoptions is the grandparent and if possible the namesake grandparent. Informants gave, as one reason for this practice, the claim of fondness-affection which the grandparent holds for the child, especially when there is a namesake relationship between them. Another reason, less often reported but still important, is the inability of the young child to behave in the culturally prescribed manner to parents. That there is some validity to this latter view is indicated by the fact that the custom of adoption is not permanent but temporary. It is arranged before the birth of the child, begins just before weaning, and ends
[591] around the time of puberty. That is to say, the child returns to his parent's home when he is more able to conform to the social requirements of parent-child, especially father-child relations. Whether this is the reason for adoptions is difficult to say, certainly it is one effect or result of the custom.

597 In non-grandparent adoptions the person adopting the child
601 is called by the correct kinship term. If there is no kinship term, the male head of the house is generally addressed as Aba (father), and referred to in the same way or as Aba njima (father of the house), while his wives are addressed and referred to as hawa (Pa-Sis). If there is some special relationship, such as a common name between the

597 child and the compound head, the proper term will be used. At all times
602 during his adoption the child is made aware of his status. He knows who his real parents are, whether or not they are alive and well, where they live and what they do, and who and what his relations are to other people in terms of his real father and mother.

597 people in terms of his real father and mother. The following interview material illustrates these ideas in concrete terms.

[565] I asked Mallam Aba Kiari his opinion of the practice of giving away infants just after they were weaned. He told me that he, himself, had been given away. I asked if this was a good thing. "Oh yes, very, very good," came the reply. He estimated that about four or five out of ten children of the higher ranks of society had been given away after weaning, although he felt that among the peasants the number was much lower because they needed children in their compounds for the help they could give. He had been given to his father's full sister just after he was weaned. This was arranged before he was born. (The informant is the first of two children from the same union). He stayed with his aunt for about nine years, he always called her hawa (Fa-Sis). Everyone always told him who his own mother and father were; they lived in the same town and he often went to visit them at their compound. He addressed the husband of his father's sister as ha'a or aba (father) but always knew that this man was a stranger to him and his family.

[601] I asked him why he thought it was a good thing to give infants away. He answered that it was a very good thing because — if you have a child or perhaps more than one, then your friend, or brother or sister, who have never been able to have any children, experience the joys of parenthood if they are given yours to raise. You lose nothing by doing this kind of thing, for the child is still yours and knows it. Did he not receive his milk at the breast of your wife? Is he not the result of your own sexual intercourse?

[842] "But most people give their children to its grandparents," I said. "Why is that?"

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603 "Ah, because they (grandparents) love the child very much and will be kind and gentle to it. You are a father and the child must have shame and respect for you, but a very small child knows nothing of such things."

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571 Whether or not Kanuri adoptions exist for the reasons given by informants, it is certain that they do create, maintain, and strengthen wider social relationships, giving them a solid basis for continuity through time. The links between two residence groups, either in the same kinship system or between different ones, are made concrete and real. The child, by living in intimate contact and having primary social relations both in his biological family and his adoptive family has widened his primary relationships and solidified a definite contin-

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571 uity into his own generation of one link or agent of his parents' relational network in the society.

861 After weaning (and perhaps adoption) the steady, inexorable process of socialization training begins to be applied to the child.

863 Toilet training is geared to the acquisition of walking skills. As soon as the child is able to toddle on its feet the adult woman in whose hut it lives starts enforcing the rule that the child should go outside of the hut, stoop on the ground and use only the left hand for any function having to do with toilet activities. Failure to learn these skills is met with more insistent pressure as time goes on. A young child only recently weaned who cannot accomplish facile toilet functions may not even be scolded. However, with increased age and language skill, admonitions soon begin and are given with increasing frequency; the child is told that it is dirty, bad, and that it must not do such things as urinate on the hut floor. The severity depends upon the particular situation, the age of the child, and the mood and personality of the mother, grandmother, or other socializing agent who may be quite calm on some occasions and rather angry on others. The following excerpt from notes taken by the writer's wife describe a socialization situation:

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If Kachella gana (aged two) visiting my house makes a puddle on the cement floor, his grandmother will ask for a tin of water to pour on the floor and to wash the child, and this will be done either with no comment at all or, "Oh Kachella, look what you have done." On such occasions Kachella does not show much discomfort. But if the child is sleeping on his grandmother's bed and wakes up wet, he may hear, "Get up! get up! You dirty little boy" and so on for four or five minutes. During such an outburst Kachella is liable to be sitting on the floor howling piteously, which gives rise to increased consequences. Another child is told to bring a soft corn stock, which granny waves menacingly as she cautions Kachella to "Stop! Stop! Stop!" and having achieved the desired effect, puts down the corn stock beside her as a warning. We have never seen anyone hit a small child, but

301 We have never seen anyone hit a small child, but 150.

the warnings are frequent. The "boogy-man" threat is more often used as a warning. For example, last month a group of travelling entertainers brought a very large, ugly hyena to town ... apparently Kachella gana was shown the thing from a distance, and ever since the hyena has been used as a deterrent to investigating the contents of medicine bottles, or venturing beyond the compound door. It works, although Kachella is inclined to laugh somewhat incredulously. (1)

Continuing with the same excerpt, it will be noticed that positive as well as negative learning is begun early and definite, patient teaching by socialising adults is a normal part of every day's activities for the young child:

A plate of food is on the floor of the hut gathering flies. The grandmother says to her little adoptive grandson, "Kachella, pick the plate up. Now take it over there. Be careful, there is food on the plate. Now take that other plate and cover the food over (plates are made of grass). That's right, very good." The operation which would have taken the grandmother a second has been carried out only after two minutes of patient instruction to the child who could not yet speak more than a few words.

858

The inception of sex roles begins with the onset of child-

hood and the end of weaning. The boys are tada gana (small boys) and 302
[858] wear the appropriate small smock and begin to have their heads shaved
[602] in the child hair style of the father's agnatic group. This small boy's hair style often depicts the political affiliations of the father's agnatic group and/or its territorial origins. Thus all the household groups connected to a political leader or coming from a particular [184] town may share the same small boy's hair style. Some lower class informants in the large urban centre stated that they used whatever hair style they pleased for their small boys when it was observed that no rule seemed to be followed.

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302 After weaning, the girls are fero gana (small virgin girls)

- (1) Excerpt from correspondence by Diana Cohen with the Institute of Child Study at the University of Toronto (1956).

858 or kala yaku (three heads), the latter referring to the distinctive
302 three pronged hair style of pre-pubertal females. The young girls are soon more fancifully dressed and their eyelids blacked with antimony.

855 Until the age of three or four, children are kept for the
857 most part within the compound, going out only with older members. After four or five, the child begins to explore beyond the compound and meets children of his own sex in the immediate vicinity. These form peer groups who play together and gather together quickly to witness any excitement of the town. They stay away from groups of male elders who may sit conversing under a tree, but otherwise roam the town and later even the surrounding bush area freely as long as their growing amount of household tasks are complete.

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[412] The girls start to learn the intricacies of preparing food, carrying water, and the ever present task of grinding millet either on a ~~quern~~ or more commonly in a large wooden mortar. The boys begin to gather firewood, help with the farming, and the family dry season activity, as well as being on hand for running messages. Pressure in the acquisition of these skills is steady and slow but definite. Punishments are rare, but to a Western eye extremely severe. The reason is most often the continual or perhaps sudden relinquishing of a skill which by such time should have already been acquired. A young boy of ten was beaten for omitting to gather grass for his father's horses; this is a skill which boys of seven to nine should have already learned. The severity of the punishment is noted by all children within earshot. Thus the beating of one child in a village or a ward not only punishes his neglect of learned skills but advertises to all, within hearing distance of the child's screams, that punishment is not just a matter of threats but is an awesome, painful reality if limits are transgressed.

862 are transgressed.

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857 Learning of adult skills is often accomplished through imitative play. A little girl of three and a half was passed a straw plate and, separately, some paper clips. She immediately put the paper clips on the plate as her mother would do in the preparation of food, and began her own approximation of the quick, deft, jiggling movement of sifting the shells of groundnuts. None of the paper-clips was dropped from the plate and she soon passed the plate back saying, "Here are some groundnuts."

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867 Sometimes imitative play is more organized. A large group of children between the age of six to ten may organize a "wedding".

[864] One of the young boys is the groom and a bride is chosen, as are in-laws, best man, lead woman, etc. Every detail of the adult virgin marriage ceremony is carried out, even to a mock impregnation, in this case a small doll. The wedding foods, in miniature, are passed around to the proper people, who accept the mock food with a show of seriousness. Adults thought this play was instructive and remarked that it was a good way for the children to learn the customs of the people.

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793 Childhood is also the time of basic religious instruction which is more highly stressed for boys. Young boys may be given away any time after the age of six or seven to a Koranic mallam for a year or two, to live and travel with him, work for him, and live in abject poverty, in order to learn Arabic prayers, and some Arabic script. Their relationship to him while under his tutelage is expressed in the Kanuri saying "mallammun abanun kosana" (your mallam exceeds your father). In other words, an individual's Koranic teacher exceeds his father in fatherly qualities, which means he must be given respect, obeyed and sub-

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793 mitted to as a superior whose authority is unquestioned. In other cases, mallam near at hand or in the compound take up the job and the [871] child is not forced to leave home. Today there is the added possibility of receiving religious instruction in the government schools. However, this is still rare in rural areas.

591 By the age of ten or twelve years, a young Kanuri boy may have lived in quite a number of households. One informant related how he was adopted by his grandfather at weaning, given to a wandering mal-lam at the age of six, entered Junior Primary School as a boarder at nine, and entered the service of a District Head at the age of thirteen. This is not an extreme case, especially when the high rate of divorce is considered. Thus a young boy or girl, especially the former, can find himself in one to five or more different households or primary group settings by the time he has reached early adolescence. It may be proper here to ask who is the authority figure in the young child's life; who is it that in his person embodies or symbolizes authority? And the answer is of fundamental importance — no one. The Kanuri child learns, whether he lives in one compound or many, that his society is a system of ranked hierarchies in which there are many people to whom he must give respect and subordination.

Puberty

561 By the end of childhood, as the Kanuri define it (which means somewhere between the ages of nine to thirteen), the sex roles and many of their accompanying behaviours have been established. From this period onward the development towards adult status is sharply differentiated for males and females. Somewhere around puberty a young girl is given in virgin marriage by her father or the person who has been designated as having the power of marriage dispensation over her. Male

881 informants feel that it is better if a girl is married before she men-
582 struates and claim that religion prescribes this as the best kind of
first marriage for a girl. Exceptions are, of course, quite common
and not regarded as very bad as long as the girl is a "virgin" (i.e.
585 proven so on her wedding night). When she marries for the first time
[302] a girl does not automatically change her status. She is still consid-
ered a fero gona (a small girl) just as she was before marriage, and
for some little time continues to wear her hair in the young girl style.

As one informant put it:

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[885]

She knows nothing, she copulates yes, but takes no interest
in such things, there is no pleasure in it for her. When
she bleeds, then she is kamu kura (a mature woman) and she
knows everything and will take pleasure from sexual inter-
course. When the first blood comes the girl will feel shame
and tell no one, only her close friends, who will tell her
mother. Her mother will come and gather together her friends
and relatives (female) and cook food and give sada'a (offer-
ings to the poor).

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[302]

Sometime after the onset of menstruation the young girl
changes her hair style to the typical and distinctive styling of the
adult Kanuri woman. It is not necessary for her to become a complete-
ly different person immediately upon taking up the status of married
woman. Indeed, she still retains many of her childhood friends. In
a completely new locale she first obtains age-mate friends who are, as
often as not, pre-pubertal children.

Over the first one or two years of marriage, young brides
are more and more to be seen with the other adult women of the com-
pound and the neighbourhood whose main activities and interests centre
around marketing, cooking, obtaining water, gossiping and engaging in
women's festivities. Less and less are they interested in playing and
chatting with the young pre-pubertal children, whose activities be-
come progressively remote from their own.

000 come progressively remote from their own.

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[369] Exceptions to the normal pattern occur. In some cases the girls become prostitutes (alangnoma), although this is more common in the urban areas where there is less visibility and higher demand for this stigmatised occupation. In Magumeri village, there was one active prostitute of whom it was said she had never been properly married. Another young woman of about eighteen to twenty years had not as yet been married. In 1956, she was still wearing the small girls' hair style, which she finally changed in 1957 to that of an adult woman. Her slightly sub-normal intelligence was socially recognised, and to this characteristic was attributed her inability to obtain a husband. She was, by 1957, trying to identify herself as a rower, i.e. a divorced woman. That is to say, she declared herself openly available sexually to all males. Informants claimed that her chances of finding a husband were exceedingly slim. Another girl of fourteen or fifteen had already passed puberty and was unmarried. Rumour and gossip ran around that she was not a virgin, i.e. adult men had slept with her, and it was said that her father would have a very difficult time ever finding a husband who would take her as wife. The child seemed to be suffering increasingly from her inability to identify herself as a girl awaiting marriage or as a developing young woman which all her age-mates had by now become.

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871 These exceptions exemplify a basic precept of Kanuri culture. In order to obtain a normal status in the society a female must have had a first marriage in or around the time of puberty. Failure to do so inhibits her achievement of respectable adult status. This is one of the primary reasons why European Secondary education for Kanuri girls receives so much opposition from the local population. The idea

285 of any institutional prolongation of a girl's unmarried status beyond
582 puberty is regarded by the people as leading to the ruin of her normal
871 development as it is conceived in the culture. (This opposition is also
exacerbated by the fear of a loss of power of dispensation over
the girl by her guardian when she attends school).

881 For young boys the end of childhood and the beginning of
304 adolescence is marked by circumcision. It is apparent from the variation
in age, running anywhere from seven to twelve years for the circumcision
of boys, that physiological maturation has very little to do with the timing
of the ceremony for any particular boy. The boy's family, especially the head
of the household (usually his father), decides the issue on the basis of
family readiness to perform the ceremony. Often a large group of boys,
sometimes as many as thirty or forty in large towns, are cut when a
leading family performs a circumcision for one of its members.

The important thing for the Kamuri is not the readiness of any particular young boy for the ceremony in terms of either his behavioural or physiological development: The deciding factor is the auspiciousness of the occasion in terms of the family's relationships with the rest of the community. Is there a large circumcision taking place this year? Have a lot of friends and relatives been asking repeatedly when little Aba is going to be circumcised? Have the household members, especially the head, attended a great many marriages, naming ceremonies, etc., of other community members and given gifts on these occasions? Is it now time to reap the benefit of all that participation by having a ceremony of one's own, to which many people will come and many gifts of goods and money will be obtained? These

881 and questions like these are the determining factors in the timing of
304 a circumcision ceremony and they point to the major functions of the
[57] event. Certainly it marks publicly the opening of the gates on the
roadway to manhood for the young boy, but, much more importantly, it
validates, strengthens and dramatizes the relational network of ties
that the family and the household maintain and attempt to promote in
the society.

As would be expected in a stratified society there is much
variation in the elaborateness of the circumcision ceremony, depending
upon the rank of the family involved, the number of boys being circum-
cised together, and the upward mobility motivations of the family head.
Generally speaking, the period of circumcision is fifteen days. In
the traditional ceremonies the boys are out at a first and smaller
celebration and then remain in their compounds for fifteen days, after
which a large ceremony is held.

"They must eat good food and rest until their wound heals,"
said one informant. The consensus of opinion seems to be that it is
"better" to have a group of boys circumcised together rather than sing-
ly. This may include several boys from one large extended family.
More often the ceremony is initiated by a person of higher rank, such
as a hamlet head, a Village Head, a District Head, or some person of
noble family. People of lesser rank who have some subordinate re-
lationship then try, or are asked, to have their own sons included.
Social distances between the families concerned are, however, not ex-
ceptionally great. Thus a peasant's son might conceivably have been
circumcised with a hamlet head's son or perhaps even a Village Head's
son but it would be most unlikely that he would reach much higher in

881 his connections. The limitations on such social incongruities are
304 twofold. First of all, it would be considered undecorous in the eyes
of the community and the person labelled as ro kura (literally: big
life, i.e. "pushy" or overly ambitious). Secondly, the elaborateness
and therefore the expenses involved increase enormously up through the
status hierarchy of the society so that, unless the person has a great
deal more wealth than his social position generally implies, he must
of necessity carry on the ceremony only with the ranks immediately
above or below himself in the social structure.

Exceptions are quite common to both group circumcision and
to the two ceremonies held first on the day of the cutting and secondly
fifteen days later. Impecunious peasants often prefer a single public
ceremony on the day of the cutting. Informants explained that by re-
stricting the ceremony in this fashion they were trying to control
the expense.

Adolescence

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The period after circumcision until marriage is a cultur-
ally recognised status for boys. It lasts from about the age of
seven to twelve up to the period of eighteen to twenty-two years.
For both males and females there is a blurred period between childhood
and the next stage of life which in both cases ends roughly at puberty.
However, for girls this commonly occurs after their first marriage,
while for the boys it does not.

After circumcision the boy can be socially regarded as saire
(literally: attractive in a male sense). However, informants explain
that he is still tada gana (a small boy) until he is capable of ejacu-
lation, or until the growth of his pubic hair. The term tada gana is
retained and applied to the adolescent to describe his immaturity or

882 lack of achieved skill in some area of behaviour. This extension of the term for child into adolescence must not be mistaken for the European cultural trait of confusing childhood and adulthood in the adolescent period. It refers not just to a lack of skill, but more generally to a lack of power and authority, and in this sense can be utilised to describe anyone until he is an old man. In this context the term is applied to mean that in some particular manner the person is like a small boy in relation to others around him, i.e. he must defer to them. People do not find this unnatural and even middle aged men may refer to themselves as tada gura (small boy).⁽¹⁾

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From the time of true physiological puberty onward, the boy associates more and more with other young sauro and takes part more or less freely in the banter of age-mates, and those slightly older. These young boys go to markets, play together, discuss local gossip and politics, and often joke about possible and actual nocturnal [833] adventures with women. On this last point, boys generally receive their first sexual experiences after puberty from divorced women who may vary in age anywhere from fifteen to fifty. More often than not, it is reported that the first experiences are with older women because of the competition for the younger sexually accessible females, (i.e. those who are divorced). Like young men everywhere they discuss the merits of various occupations, the desirability of rural or urban life, but also speak to one another at great length about the qualities of various "big men" (kan kura) in Borneo, and the benefits received by their followers. Today, boys also learn to smoke cigarettes, gamble and to drink intoxicating liquors during this period.

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A primary function of this age status for adolescent boys

(1) See below, p. 174.

882 is occupational choice and training. For most boys the choice is
463 determined by the elders of the household in which they are living or
by the economic specialization in their own quarter of town or hamlet.
One youth, whose father is a small salt retailer and a farmer, lives
in a quarter where many of the household heads are dyers. He has been
apprenticed by his father to one of the dyer households in order to
learn the trade. In general and especially for rural areas, sons in
a household are expected to take up the occupation of the household
head.

This should not be thought of, however, as a system in
which the young boy merely complies with the wishes of his elders.
There is much evidence to show that some degree of personal freedom is
involved in occupational choice. For example, a butcher's son re-
marked that, despite his father's wishes, he would never be a butcher
and was planning to learn his Pa-Bro occupation of hides and skins
trader. This is especially true today if the young boy is sent to
the city to stay with a relative while learning a craft. The plethora
of new and different occupations in the city may attract the young man
and lead him to make his own decisions about his occupation.

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882 There is an apprenticeship system for learning occupations
which varies in length depending upon the age of the boy, the socio-
economic status of the occupation, and the relationship between the boy
and the craftsman. As boys become older they expect their apprentice-
ship times to be shortened, whereas the earlier an apprenticeship is
begun the longer the period of training. However, even in the case
of a twenty-two year old, a two to three year period is not uncommon.
Again, if the occupation has a higher status and/or pecuniary return,

274 the person taking on the apprentice can expect a longer period of service
 282 in return for his admitting the newcomer into the advantageous job status. Thus lorry drivers, who make comparatively higher incomes, demand a high fee plus a four or five year apprenticeship from persons they take on as initiates. Butchers, although in a low status occupation, also do well financially and therefore obtain longer periods of service from their apprentices. If the relationship between the apprentice and the occupation member is non-consanguinal then the arrangements over terms of apprenticeship are arrived at between the boy and his family on the one hand and the occupation member on the other.

The boy must live in the "master's" house for a stipulated period, helping with all the work of the household, the farming, bringing grass for the horse if there is one, running messages, and helping in the craft work. He is called tada njima (son of the house) and refers to his new household head as aba njima (father of the house). He must act in this situation in the same way as a son would act to his father. If the "master" is already a relative, he refers to the person by the kin term and acts in the same manner described for the non-relative. In the latter case, the arrangements are commonly made earlier in the boy's life and last longer, i.e. it bears more resemblance to a true adoption. As was shown in chapter four, the exact time of termination of an apprenticeship can lead to some conflict between them. The following example illustrates that conflict does not always accompany the termination of an apprenticeship.

[441] A young barber apprentice of about nineteen or twenty years
 [452] of age had previously been a seller of kola nuts, but decided to give

(1) See above, p. 85.

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882 it up because, as he said, it entailed the constant giving of credit
[441] to his customers and he never seemed to be able to collect all the
[452] money owing to him. His full brother in Maiduguri (who had been his
wholesale supplier) advised him that barbering was a good occupation
and that one of the local barbers in Magumeri needed a tada njima
because his own son was as yet too young to help him. The boy went
and asked the barber about it and then made his own arrangements for
the apprenticeship (the barber knew the boy's kinsmen). He moved into
the barber's compound for one year and became a tada njima. He could
visit his own compound in which his mother lived by herself and keep
up his own farm. He had to help the barber on his farm, get grass for
his horses, carry water now and then, and be ready at all times to run
messages for his aba njima (father of the house). The barber taught
him how to shave heads and cup blood (for medicinal purposes), and
gave him a barber's bag of tools with which he began working, sometimes
with his senior, sometimes alone. By right, all receipts of his work
during that year were supposed to be given to the barber. Naturally,
he pocketed an occasional fee, but not too often; to do so would have
been to risk his mentor's dissatisfaction and therefore the end of
his projected career as a barber. The senior could, if he felt the
boy to be completely unsatisfactory, dismiss him and take back the
barber tools. The barber fed him, clothed him and gave him a little
spending money regularly during that first year. At special events,
like naming ceremonies, he was given a small tip (one to two shillings)
by the household head because of his role as barber's apprentice,
which he kept for himself. In 1957, he moved back to his own compound
with his mother. He still considers himself a tada njima of the bar-

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882 ber because he still does chores for him, and claims to give the senior about fifteen per cent of his receipts. Furthermore, he does not yet know how to cut face-marks, remove uvula, or perform circumcisions, and thus attends all these ceremonies with his senior barber in order to continue his education. He hopes that by next year he may be allowed to perform some of these operations under supervision. When he has finished his education, it will not be necessary to do anything for the senior. However, he will always pay respect to his ex-teacher for many years to come.

Other apprentices, who were living with strangers, but had gone into the same occupation as their fathers, claimed that they were freer in this situation than if they were in training in their own households. They also stated that it "was nice" (khii) to travel around and see other places in Bornu. The "freedom" was observed to refer to sexual experimentation, not discipline-respect with the compound head. As we have mentioned, it is considered shameful for children to discuss or acknowledge directly any marriage plans or sexual behaviour in the presence of parents. In some of these cases the mobility is explained by the fact that the boy's father was dead and his mother or grandparent has sent him off to a relative or a friend in order to learn the dead father's craft. In general, the boy completes his learning of agricultural skills, the planting, hoeing and harvesting of the various crops, as well as the clearing of new land. In this (425) period. Most often during his adolescence he acquires one or more plots of land of his own, either through inheritance, from the local political leader, by purchase or gift, or by going farther afield from his village and clearing new bushland. He also becomes acquainted with

882 at least one non-agricultural occupation, even if it is just the marketing of agricultural commodities as is the case with surplus producers.

882 In summary then, adolescence (in the limited sense refer-
 885 red to above) sharply divides male and female roles. The female has
 562 taken on her role as a married woman and it is within this status that she completes the learning of skills necessary for her adult role in society. Her status attributes may shift and change during her mature life. She may become single again (most women do), re-marry, and bear children, but the framework of her adulthood is entered into at first virilocal marriage, at or before puberty. For the boy, adolescence is socially entered into at his circumcision and congeals psychologically after physiological puberty. He utilizes this period to learn the multitude of interpersonal and occupational skills which he requires as an adult, and a potential family head.

582 One of the interesting functional results of having an
 [561] extra age status for males only is its artificial increase in the
 [165] availability of women for marriage. If we consider for the sake of
 [162] argument that the Kanuri life span is sixty years and the ratio of
 (1) men to women is roughly one to one, then with women marrying roughly around the age of ten to twelve and men marrying roughly around the age of twenty to twenty-two, women are marriageable for approximately fifty and men for forty years respectively. In other words, women would be of marriageable status one-fifth longer in time relative to
 (2) men.

(1) Bornu Census: 1951. Males: 790, 361. Females: 805, 347.

(2) If the life span is put at a smaller figure, as it probably ought to be to correspond with the facts, then this ratio would be larger because the length of adolescence is a constant.

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This means that although the proportion of the sexes to one another is approximately equal numerically, there would be more women available for marriage than men if the society were not polyg-

- /2/ mons. It would be interesting to check cross-culturally whether or not in monogamous societies marriage is associated more with equal ages among mates at its first inception and whether or not polygyny is also associated most often with early female and late male first marriages.

Maturity

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The culture defines a mature man as rashidi. Ideally this connotes that he is married, is not immoderately adulterous, has a compound of his own, an occupation, the use of some land for farming, a recognized position in the community organization as the head of a compound in a ward, or hamlet, a degree of independence which includes the right to move to another community if he wishes, and if he has children, the label is even more applicable. Thus rashidi as a status implies the values which the culture places upon adult male life. It is therefore not only a description of a man's age status, but an evaluation of his accomplishments and behaviour as an adult male in relation to the value system of the culture.

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A few informants, notably higher ranking people, felt that a man should be over 30-35 years of age before he could be defined as rashidi. Most others were more inclined to disregard the age criteria and claim that any man who had been married was a rashidi.

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When a young man is divorced and has no other wives, or even if he is married but is known to be especially attentive to other women he is jokingly referred to as sauro (any person who has not been married,

885 but who has been circumcised, more often referring to the sexually
831 active). In discussing this point further, informants remarked that such persons were not true sairo but they acted like them. The joking implied in this designation is not nearly as humorous to the hearers, when applied to a divorced man with no present wife (who really has many status similarities to an older adolescent) as when it is applied to a married man who is continually seeking extra-marital sexual relations. This joking reference to the married man being a sairo points up the ideal of mildly chaste behaviour property to the rashidi status.

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885 Many young married men who are subordinate to elder relatives, or political and/or economic superiors in large household organizations, or who are still apprentices, refuse to be labelled as rashidi when asked, even though they are married. They plead that they are still tada gana (small boys). They feel that their subservient position and lack of achievement in the areas of behaviour mentioned above, that are considered to be characteristic of rashidi status, puts them in the position of small boys who still have to grow up, or who are under their father's control. For subservient persons whose occupation requires that they remain in close subordinate relationship to a superior for most of their lives, the criteria of marriage, children, age, own compound, and farm plots, slowly begin to change the person's concept of himself and he comes to accept a label of rashidi if it is put to him as a question. However, he understands the limits of its application in his particular case. For example, one informant of about forty-five, whose father had been a servant of the District Head's father and who was himself a life-long servant of the District Head, accepted a definition of himself as a rashidi (mature man), who

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would, he said laughingly, soon be a chiari (an old man). He explained that he had a married daughter, a faru, a compound, and a wife, who he proudly asserted had stayed with him for eight years, and for all these reasons he was a rashidi. But when asked in the same context if he would ever go to live somewhere independently of his superior's headquarters, without instructions he quickly replied, "atè nni wuma tade gana" (in that sense I am a small boy). In other words, in that particular area of behaviour generally associated with rashidi status I am not a participant as one who is a grown man, rather I am like a young son who must obey his father. This is not in any way shameful for the informant, since his status in the subservient relationship to the District Head is accepted by the culture.

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Rashidi is then more than just a description of physiological age. In general people consider that when a man has been married he should be defined as having reached adult status. But when the term is applied to an adult male who had been married, it is found that a set of achievements is used as a criterion for judging a person's age grade status. These achievements are valued attributes of adult male life as defined by the culture which are available in varying degrees to all male members of the society.

A woman who has had a child can be referred to as kuko, which means that she has achieved the important goal of motherhood and has added a new member to her husband's agnatic group as well as to her own. Middle aged women (about thirty to forty) can be referred to as gudum to distinguish them from younger or older women, whether or not they have borne children. In actual practice these terms were not observed to be in common use, the woman's status and age being

885 described in other terms. The main distinctions for women are,
 562 fero (girl), Kamu (woman) and Kamursu (old woman). A woman (kamu)
 can be given descriptive attributes to place her properly in people's
 minds. For example, she can be kamu kwansh abaji (a woman with a
 husband, i.e. married), or sansh ngubu or gana (older or younger).
 These can be extended to include statuses such as having borne chil-
 dren or not, having an influential family, having a rich husband,
 being in seclusion and so on.

There is no similar status term among women comparable to
 the male term rashidi whose meaning also connotes or embodies the
 ideology of mature behaviour.

The ideal view of the adult female role positively evalu-
 ates marriage, durability of marriage, children, obedience to husband,
 proper and efficient performance of women's tasks, chastity, staying
 in husband's compound much of the time, and maintaining some contact
 with her own family as some of the more important goals towards which

183 adult females should strive. In actual practice, women who divorce
 885 the least number of times give their unqualified support to the cultur-
 562 al ideal of the female role. On the other hand, women who divorce
 576 easily and frequently tend to qualify their support of the ideal. This
 contrast is illustrated by the answer to the question, "What would you
 do if your husband required you to stay always in the compound?" A
 woman, who had been married to the same man for twenty-five years,
 answered simply, shi kura fatobe (he is the head of the household),
 i.e. he is my authoritative superior and I must obey. Contrarily,
 a woman, who at the age of about thirty-five had married and divorced
 four times, replied, daji lenyin (then I would go away), i.e. divorce
 him.

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The value placed upon maintenance of connection with her own family after marriage is given by women as one of the reasons for divorce - "he would not let me visit my family" - which indicates that this value is somewhat in conflict with the other value attributes of adult female behaviour during marriage. In some marriages of long duration and much mutual trust, the woman's visits to her relatives were observed to be a normal, accepted and non-conflicting part of her role as wife to her husband. However, most men are somewhat reluctant to allow their wives to visit relatives and try to discourage such activity. High ranking persons send along a trusted servant to remain with or near their wives during the entire term of [152] absence from the compound. One informant, by no means an exception, became incensed because he heard that his wife (age about thirty-five, married and divorced several times before) who was travelling alone to Maiduguri to visit a sister, had stopped for two days in an intermediate town to visit other relatives and friends. A former husband of the woman lived there and the present husband was extremely worried lest his wife was having a licentious time while away.

Old Age

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Old age is signalled by white hair for both sexes. Even though sexual potency may remain, this outward sign of white hair identifies the coming of the last period of life for both men (chiari, 888 old men) and women (kanureu, old woman). In both sexes old age means the relinquishing of some of the duties of adulthood though the man continues longer in his adult role than the woman. This is due to the increasing difficulty which an old woman finds in obtaining a husband if she has been widowed or divorced in later years. If she has a son he is expected to keep her in his compound; if not, she may

888 stay in or near the household of some other relatives including an
 887 ex-husband whom she will refer to as "brother". Whether or not she
 565 is being supported by a son, an old woman of the lower ranks has an
 443 accepted role as a gurdona, i.e. a seller of cooked foods, or even
 acts sometimes as a small retail trader who sits daily in the small
 stalls around the town, at markets, near wells, and sometimes attends
 nearby markets. Four old women in Magumeri (one of whom lived com-
 pletely alone) had each saved or acquired enough capital (two to
 three pounds) to buy a well for herself, and through the sale of the
 water obtained a steady source of income. It is not meant to suggest
 that at some point in time women suddenly decide they are now old and
 become sellers of cooked food, or petty retailers of uncooked foods,
 [434] and small sundries. All her life and increasingly so with old age,
 the peasant woman raises a little extra cash for herself by doing
 petty trading or obtaining some raw foodstuffs either from her own
 garden in the compound, or buying it with her own money and preparing
 it for sale in either the large weekly markets or a small daily market
 stall. With old age she merely extends this activity into a full-
 time occupation.

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 565 Women from high ranking households remain in the compounds
 of their sons or relatives who support them. A widow of a high rank-
 ing man is sometimes supported in his compound by the heir to the
 888 house, who may be a brother of the dead man. More commonly she re-
 565 turns to a household of her consanguinal relatives. Many of these
 454 upper class women have some capital which started with their dowries,
 and may have been increased through inheritance and private trade
 during their lifetimes. The trade is often carried on by intermedi-
 aries (male servants of the household) due to the high incidence of

888 semi-seclusion among upper class women, and expands as the woman grows
565 into old age.
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888 In the case of a man, ideally he reaches the golden part of his life in old age. He is respected. His work is carried on by descendants, and his authority and senior position in a patrilineal extended family organization may have expanded to the point where he is the head of group of households, if his sons and junior brothers remain in or near his compound. At extreme age, with the progressive appearance of infirmity, he relinquishes many of his duties, and serves merely as an adviser who is consulted on most major decisions by his subordinates in the compound organization.

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[596] The difficulty in the universal realization of this cultural ideal is its functional dependence upon residence patterns for its development. As we have seen the primary determinants in the structural cohesion of the patrilineal family organization are the elements of power and authority, which the individual householder is able to wield, manipulate and maintain during his active life, in contrast to the total distribution of power and authority in the society. [565] Thus, as in many other segments of Kanuri culture, the ideal goals are manifestly more attainable among the upper ranks of society than at the lower levels. However, many peasants, due to some mild good fortune which gives them just a slightly higher proportion of economic and/or political power than their dependants, find themselves approaching old age successfully as heads of patrilineal organizations in which they are the respected senior members. Contrarily, it is also considered good and proper behaviour to maintain a role of loyal subordination to a strong extended household organization. Attachment to a senior in the organization leads to expectations of political and

888 economic security for many men who are unable to achieve the more
 592 highly valued position of respected senior member of a compound in
 183 their old age.

Inheritance

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The rules followed in inheritance are those of Maliki law, and these are codified rules upheld in the courts when succession cases [613] are heard. In general property should remain within the agnatic lineage with preference given to seniority or linearity and male sex. The surviving male always receives two parts to every one given to the surviving female of equal relationship to the deceased. A wife is considered when a man has no children. She and her co-wives (if present) are entitled to one-third of the warata (inheritance) of her (their) dead husband, while the remaining two-thirds goes to the agnatic group. Thus, if a man has four wives and no children each is entitled to a fourth of the wife's third, i.e. one-twelfth of the estate. For wives this means in practice only a share of the movables, excluding land-use rights and the household immovables. If there are children a wife is not entitled by law to any of the inheritance, although it is customary to give her a gift of money if she is being [587] sent away from her dead husband's house by the surviving agnates. If none of the male children are her own then she has no longer any living connection with her husband's family unless she marries a brother, which is known but not practised. When a son is very young the closest brothers of the deceased, in order of seniority, get the largest portion of the inheritance and act as father to the surviving children. If a senior brother of the deceased survives him he must

(1) See Buxton F.H., Maliki Law, 1916 (London).

428 always be considered as getting some preference, although a surviving son who is of age (18-20) gets the largest share. When two sons of a deceased father have the same mother the younger son has no orthodox rights, since it is considered that the older brother is now replacing the father. However, it is customary that, if both are of age, the rule of two parts to one in favour of the senior in relation to junior holds sway, with the father's compound going to the senior. Three full brothers in Magumeri cut up the estate of their father in two parts at his death. Half the estate plus the compound went to the eldest brother while the other half was divided in two between the two younger brothers. A fourth younger brother was about thirteen years old at the time and living in another town - he received nothing. If the sons are from different mothers and both of age, the rules require equal sharing of the property, with the father's house going to the eldest.

A man is not free to dispose of his property to whomsoever he chooses. It must follow the rules of inheritance. However, he may before he dies ask a relative in front of witnesses to give [693] some special possession to a friend after his death. All cases of inheritance disputes that are adjudicated give ten per cent of the inheritance value to the court making the successful judgement.

[2] Inheritance customs in any society are an attempt to give continuity and stability to existing social relationships as they refer to rights and prerogatives, given the fact of potential dislocation of the ongoing relational system by loss of membership through death. The universality of inheritance disputes or animosity developing from inheritance transactions recorded from all over the world attest to the inevitable conflicts which arise no matter what variety

428 of system is developed to order this common human problem. Because
571 it is perhaps one of the most fundamental determinants in directing
121 the course of continuity in the social process, it would be well to
understand clearly what are the implications and problems created in
the system of rules outlined above.

428 Two common kinds of conflicts arise from the Kanuri in-
578 heritance system: a minor and perhaps even invigorating one, and a
613 major and fundamental one which strikes at the unity of the agnatic
lineage. The first and minor conflict is that which arises between a
deceased's wife, supported by her agnates on the one side, and the
agnatic group of her dead husband on the other. She may claim that
some of the property of her dead husband really belongs to her, often
because she loaned him some of her property and he died before he
could give it back. In this type of dispute, the agnatic relations
of the deceased act corporately as defendant, while the widow and her
[571] agnates are a corporate plaintiff. The end result in terms of social
relations in this kind of conflict is to strengthen the agnatic lin-
eage structure of the society.

The second type of conflict can be expressed as a split
between collaterality, as represented by the agnatic siblings of
the deceased on the one hand, and linearity as represented by the
[692] father-son relationship on the other. This type of dispute which is
rarely seen in the courts occurs between a dead man's male siblings
and his sons, over the distribution of his property. By traditional
law the sons have more rights than their paternal uncles to their
father's inheritance, given that they are of age (which sometimes
becomes the basis of the argument). However, no clear cut either/or

428 distinctions are made between these relatives as to the distribu-
578 tion of the rights and prerogatives of the deceased. The strength
613 of the father-son relationship and its importance as the model for
one of the central norms of behaviour in the society give it a much
more important and decisive position for resolving conflicts in
most cases. Although some internal resentments may result, the
legal and social identity of the agnates with one another for the
most part override this conflict in the system.

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PART 3

The Wider Scaled Structures

[P.183-A]

Chapter VIISocial Stratification

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The material on Kanuri interpersonal relations has been presented in order to depict and examine some of the primary modes of social interaction in the society. The present chapter and those to follow will attempt to tie together the foregoing discussion of interpersonal relations with the historical material presented earlier, by indicating the overall organizational framework within which this social and historical experience has been carried on. In order to do this, it is necessary to be more explicit about what has up until this point been implicit concerning stratification and its manifestations in Bornu.

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As a working definition it is to be understood in the following discussion that social stratification refers to a system of agreed upon rankings of persons, whereby statuses are accorded differential values along some dimension of judgment such as power, occupation, birth or achievement. When there is enough differentiation among various groups in the society along any of these dimensions, so that one group persists in its relations to other groups in its recognized possession of any of these qualities, then the society may be said to be stratified. Social mobility consists of the modes of behaviour necessary for movement from one position to another along any of the dimensions which go to make up the constituents of stratification in the society. It should be noticed that in this sense there is no such thing as an "unstratified" society since all social organizations have some persistent differentiation of statuses even if it is only on the bases of age and sex. That is to say, using this definition there is no basic dichotomy between stratified and unstratified societies, but rather a difference in degree

(1)
12. and complexity of stratification. Or to put it another way, these differences are quantitative not qualitative.

The concept of class is restricted in its application to societies having greater ranges and more dimensions of stratification, either through conquest(s) or peaceful elaboration and differentiation. The chief characteristics of class are, (1) its somewhat distinctive style of life within the overall culture of the society, and (2) the differential rankings accorded to class status as a rank among others within the total society.

Of the two concepts, class and stratification, it is felt [829] here that the latter is the more useful. The Kanuri, themselves, recognize classes in their society but, unless the dimensions of stratification are thoroughly understood, the differentiation of Kanuri society is a mystery, which the class concept alone cannot penetrate.

The Dimensions of Stratification

Tribal Membership

829 The Kanuri, like many other peoples all over the world, take a great pride in their culture, its religion, language, social organization, and its history, some of which is known by everyone. As far as 582 563 191 can be reported without any precise measurement the tribe is largely (2) endogamous, although there is more inter-tribal marriage in the capital where language barriers count for less because of the growing use of Hausa as well as Kanuri.

829 There is a value placed upon a platonic or ideal quality of

- (1) cf. Smith, M.G., On Segmentary Lineage Systems, op. cit. He does the same thing in his analysis of state and stateless societies.
- (2) In Magumeri among approximately seventy households, there were six marriages of men or women which included non-Kanuri spouses. One of these was of a recent Muslim convert to a Kanuri woman, another was of a pagan man with two rather pariah Kanuri women, while the rest were all between non-Kanuri Muslims.

1829 things when they can be identified as Kanuri. If things get farther away from this Kanuri-ness they can be different from, worse than, or better than, the ideal Kanuri attribute. Thus a Fulani calabash is not good or bad, but it is not Kanuri — it is a different jili (i.e. variety). 1824 Facial features, on the other hand, either approach this ideal of Kanuri-ness, which is good, or differ widely from it, which is bad or ugly or not "the pure one" as one English-speaking informant declared. Customs, objects, morals, etiquette, dress, in fact the whole gamut of Kanuri-ness which is generally speaking evaluated as good. In some respects, for example, the Kanuri practice of asking for things continually from others or the widespread practice of adultery, this ideal Kanuri-ness is not the summum bonum. Nevertheless even when informants exclaim Kai Kanuri dibi dea (Wow! Kanuri are wicked) in response to some story of adultery or immorality in general, there seems to be a certain amount of pride expressed in this judgement because of the Kanuri flavour of the misdemeanor. (1)

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The Bornu Emirate has throughout its long history always had contacts with other ethnic groups both within and beyond its borders.

[162] Although the Kanuri are the majority group in Bornu, they are in constant contact with many other ethnic groups, especially in the larger centres.

162 Almost every town of over one thousand population has a pagan ward;
563 slightly larger centres have a Hausa quarter, and often politically dependent (settled) Fulani or Shuwa hamlets nearby. Larger towns like Maiduguri, Nguru, Gaidam, Dikwa or Damaturu have Ibo, Yoruba and sometimes European trading elements living in the town as well. Maiduguri, the

[192] (1) The Kanuri word dibi means bad, wicked, immoral in one sense. However, it can also be used as an expression of wonder, delight or amazement. For example, it could be elicited from a peasant on his first experience with a typewriter, or the insides of a camera.

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563 capital, has, besides all these, a large Arab-speaking population from the Near East and the Sudan as well as the European Reservation for commercial and government personnel.

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829 In this situation of constant confrontation and to some extent interaction with other ethnic groups, evaluation of status by ethnic membership takes place. The Kanuri vary widely in their disposition to rank own-group as having the highest status among all the other peoples that they are in contact with or about whom they have any information. Almost universally Europeans are accorded high status (sometimes higher than own-group) as an ethnic group. This stems from their superior political and economic positions as administrators and traders. Thus, informants, unless they are well travelled or sophisticated city dwellers, are shocked and surprised to hear that there are prisons in England which house murderers, thieves and scoundrels, or that there are people in England who can be classed as labourers. In their eyes and experience, Englishmen have never been low status persons. Indeed one of the common expressions among the peasants is "Tasara Mai" (Europeans are kings). One informant, during a discussion of religious edicts on morality and the relation of these to the practicalities of everyday life, interjected a surprising comment on the relation of morality to life. He claimed that the only true Muslims in the world were Englishmen, since they were the only people who ever told the truth.

The Arabas (i.e. Arabic speakers, with the exception of the Shuwa nomads) like the Europeans, have very little but formal social contacts with the Kanuri and are highly rated as an ethnic group. The Arab facial features and skin colour are the models for what is the most attractive and pleasing (therefore the ideal Kanuri) physical types. The

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place of the Arabs as the original Muslims and the people of the Koran give them an added historically derived status to the Kanuri, who believe themselves to have originally come from Yemen.

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Similar historical experiences, much contact over a protracted time period, and very similar socio-political patterns and ecological adjustments, as well as the widespread use of Hausa as a lingua franca tend to maintain feelings of affinity by the Kanuri for the other Muslim peoples of Northern Nigeria, especially the Hausa. However, this is true as well for the settled Fulani and Shuwa peoples, while the nomadic elements in these latter groups are somewhat mistrusted as having no definite territorial base, at least while passing through on transhumance. The Kanuri associate territoriality with law and order and thus feel nomads to be dangerous here-today-gone-tomorrow people over whom legitimate social control is often difficult. Thus the first time a large group of nomads camped near Magumeri, friends warned the writer continually to lock up everything at night now that the nomads were in the vicinity.

The Shuwa are an Arabic-speaking nomadic group of the central and eastern Sudan whose women are considered particularly attractive to the Kanuri. Their Arabic language and connection to the ⁽¹⁾enaf, and the ease with which they acculturate to Kanuri society when they settle, make them a highly rated group in the society. Kanuri individuals with Shuwa mothers are proud of the fact and often incorporate it into their name. To take a name signifying a connection to own-mother is quite common in Bornu but not so widely practised when the status of own-mother is low.

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The Kanuri rank all pagan groups as having lower status than themselves. An informant who stems from a pagan background, but who has

(1) Personal communication from Mr. Fred Thomas, Ford Foundation Research Fellow, 1954-55.

563 grown up as a Muslim, will only speak of his background reluctantly or
829 confidentially. Pagan groups in Kanuri towns, who are usually Banana
or Owoza peoples from the Cameroons, manifest many of the characteristics
typically associated with minority groups everywhere. They often speak
of the equality of all men in the eyes of God, and proclaim privately
that they are just as good and deserving of dignity and respect as the
Kanuri majority. Stories of unfair treatment and all kinds of unjust
discrimination are easily elicited. The Kanuri, on the other hand, openly
despise them, referring to them as a general class of lower status
people - kurdi (infidels) who were used as slaves in the old days. Despite
these status differentials, the pagans in the Kanuri towns live in a
[464] symbiotic relationship with the majority group. They supply the Kanuri
[273] with a cheap cash labour supply and brew the liquor that many Kanuri
[461] like to drink but would consider abhorrent to manufacture. The pagans
obtain, therefore, a large ready market for their products (i.e. their
brew, and their unskilled manual labour), because of the low regard in
which these two activities are held by the Kanuri.

Pagans who are known to have Muslim sectors, such as the Babur
tribe of southern Bornu or the Yoruba of western Nigeria are still re-
garded as low status but are not nearly so unanimously despised as the
local brewers of beer with whom the Kanuri have daily contacts. It is
probable that the existence of urban classes and a nobility among the
Babur and the Yoruba which is originally absent among the Owoza and the
Banana, aids in differentiating their status as ethnic groups for the Kan-
uri.

The Ibo people of south-east Nigeria are considered to come
under the rubric of the despised pagan group, although it is known that

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most of them (whom the Kanuri contact) are Christians. Informants remarked that Ibo Christianity, like all the rest of their European skills, is newly acquired. (1) The widespread attitude towards Ibos is reflected in the oft repeated stereotype about their alleged cannibalistic practices (Eiamali kan ubrin - Ibos eat people) which indicates the Kanuri ambivalence towards this group. They are despised but feared at the same time. (2) This is due primarily to the much greater degree of westernization of the Ibo generally as compared to the Kanuri. Iboland in the eastern region of Nigeria is overpopulated and yet has a long history of mission education. Because of the need for western trained personnel over all of Nigeria, there has been an emigration of Ibo mechanics, clerks, postmasters, traders, truckers, builders, lawyers and even a doctor or two to all parts of the country. Thus a despised pagan group is seen to have more income, higher status jobs, more facility with western type liti-

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(1) One western educated Kanuri told the writer that the high numbers of educated Ibos proved that they (the Ibos) know how to bribe Europeans into giving them qualifying certificates and higher degrees. The notion of "eating" also includes the ideal of being cheated, which the Kanuri feel is always a strong possibility in their dealings with Ibos. The stories of Ibo cannibalism are rife all over northern Nigeria — with strong support from credulous Europeans who share the general belief. The empirical validity of these stories is unknown to the writer — however, they seem to have very little basis in fact in the contemporary society, and are even somewhat doubtful for the aboriginal culture of the Ibo. There is no mention of cannibalism in Forde, D. & Jones, G. I., The Ibo and Ibibio-Speaking People of South-Eastern Nigeria, (1950). The only reference to the subject in Meek, C.K., Law and Authority in Nigeria (1937) p. 67, is to a fright given to initiates by one of the priests that their testicles may be eaten during the course of the initiation ceremony. Finally, Talbot, P.A., In the Shadow of the Bush (1912), gives one reference to a conversation in the Calabar region (p.246) in which the people told him that cannibalistic rituals were practised "up until quite recently". He mentions cannibalism again (p. 260) giving his source of information to be his carrier boys, who were strangers to the particular group he describes as having "the filed teeth and the ahrunken appearance usually associated with cannibal rites". Although this is by no means a complete survey of the literature it suggests a lack of empirical validity in the last few decades at least, for the practice of Ibo cannibalism.

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gation, and a national political organization seeking reforms and power in the local scene. ⁽¹⁾ Historically their position as a pagan group puts them in the low status position of kurdi (infidels) by Kanuri standards, but the acquisition of European culture and their ability to make so-cultivated skills work for the benefit provoke covert feelings of admiration, jealousy, and fear on the part of the indigenous population of Bornu.

That there is some ambivalence in the Kanuri attitudes towards ethnic groups they rank as high (or higher) than themselves is easily discovered in conversation with persons who have more contact with Arabs and/or Europeans. Whether or not this means that the ambivalence increases with the amount of interpersonal contact it is difficult to say with present knowledge, although this could be considered as one hypothesis which explains the facts, until further tests are carried out. Peasants do not think comparatively about whether or not they are in some respects as good, better, or worse than Arabs and/or Europeans. They accord these groups high status among the "big" people of their world, whose particular place in the scheme of things is rather vague and far away from their own immediate experience but, nonetheless, rich and powerful. However, for those in close contact with Arabs and Europeans, aggressive, resentful remarks about the behaviour of these groups are common. Arabs are spoken of as dishonest traders who cheat good Kanuri of their rightful profits. Since the Arabs maintain a large proportion of the available credit from the European trading companies, they do objectively limit the expansion of Kanuri entrepreneurial activity. ⁽²⁾

(1) Coleman, J.S. Nigeria: Background to Nationalism (1958), Chap. 16

(2) See below, pp. 322-324.

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Young Kanuri civil servants who are in closer contact with Europeans than the peasant complain of the meagreness of European hospitality and the haughtiness of this group. Traditionally, Kanuri high status is associated with much hospitality and gift giving. The ultimate power of dismissal which the Europeans hold in their hands and the difficulty in understanding or living up to their different standards of performance, also tend to produce antagonism and resentment as well as the admission of high status to the European group.

This attitude toward Europeans was exemplified by one Kanuri civil servant who interjected his belief about the end of the world into a discussion of Kanuri past achievements in relation to their present status as a group in the world and Nigeria in particular. "When that day arrives (the end of the world)", he said, "all the machines of the Europeans, all their guns, their automobiles, aeroplanes, ships, radios, refrigerators, and their 'power' (arsiyi, see below pp.225-228) would be gone and the Kanuri will once again be a great nation and take all the [585] Ibos for their slaves." The other four Kanuri participants in the conversation knew about the end of the world, but had never heard of this particular interpretation, which, however, they tended to believe because of the speaker's scholarly status as a reader and writer of Arabic.

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Questionnaire data obtained from one hundred and forty-seven (1)

Kanuri adolescents (thirteen to nineteen years old) in Maiduguri from the Senior Primary School and the Secondary School tend to support the qualitative material gathered separately. The boys were asked to rank

- (1) There were originally one hundred and sixty-eight children in the school population who responded to the questionnaire, but data from twenty-one have been deleted for present purposes because of the membership in other than Kanuri groups. There is a possibility that some of the students did not report their tribal backgrounds correctly, which may have added to the spread of deviation in the responses.

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563 eighteen tribes (including "Europeans") on a printed sheet, using the fol-
829 lowing instructions, which were given in Kanuri. (1)

- (1) Check the sheet as I read it through aloud and make sure you can all understand the printing. Only students who can read and speak Kanuri should take this test. Are there any questions about the printing of the words?
- (2) If Allah were to give you all the power in the world to do anything you wished, from which of the following tribes (later occupations) listed on the sheet would you most like to obtain a fero (a virgin bride) for your wife? Make a mark (1) on the sheet beside that tribe, the tribe you would like second best, mark (2) and so on.
- (3) You must choose all the tribes, not only the ones you like.
- (4) You should also remember that when you put a very high number beside the tribe (or occupation) this means that you are saying that you really do not like this tribe (or occupation) at all, in fact you dislike it.

Since it is a Kanuri practice to rate people as "number one" or "number two" in terms of his position along some dimension such as political power, scholarly learning, etc., this type of rank ordering in data collection seemed to be more congruent with traditional modes of evaluation rather than other statistical devices which are commonly used for the same purpose, such as paired comparisons or the rating of judgements on some scale made up by the researcher. The results are presented in the table below.

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[128] It should be noted that the arrangement of choices is quite similar to that discussed earlier, the data for which was derived from field interviews with adult informants. Two Muslim groups, the Tuba and more strongly the Tuareg, are ranked low. This can be accounted for by their historical relation to the Kanuri as raiders and warring tribes,

- (1) The questionnaire was administered by Kanuri teachers in the classrooms. Three European teachers were replaced by three Kanuri-speaking ones. These included the writer, his wife, and Mrs. A. Roman. All participating Kanuri teachers took "dry runs" of the test themselves in an instruction session before giving it to their students.

[Text continues on p. 195]

TABLE V

Tribal Choices (Social Distance) of Urban Kanuri Schoolboys
(aged 13-19)

Ordinal	Choice Cardinal	Tribe	Mean Choice	Average Deviation	Remarks
I (1-3)	1	Arab	3.24	1.73	Rich traders, people of the Koran. Considered to be good-looking. Own-tribe.
	2	Kanuri	3.49	2.01	
	3	Europeans	3.89	2.17	
II (4-6)	4	Shuwa	4.21	1.95	The highest political authority. Beautiful women, Arabic-speaking, Muslims, acculturate easily. A Muslim Emirate, much historical contact
	5	Hausa	4.45	1.95	
	6	Fulani	6.57	2.24	
III (7-9)	7	Yoruba	8.60	2.44	Muslims, nomads, sometimes good, sometimes bad relations. Part Muslim, not much contact with this group.
	8	Babur	9.66	2.65	Part Muslim, some contact, increasing today. Part Muslim, some contacts Muslim, but raided the Kanuri in the past. Some acculturation. Pagan, very little contact Muslim, raided the Kanuri until quite recently Pagan, very little contact socially Christian-Pagan, contact as a separate ethnic group in cities.
	9	Bolewa	9.94	2.63	
	10	Kanenbu	10.03	2.96	
IV (10-12)	11	Mandara	10.85	2.58	
	12	Tube	11.70	3.00	Both groups are pagan, many of whom live as a minority group among the Kanuri as labourers and brewers of beer
	13	Magari	11.90	2.46	
	14	Ibo	12.30	2.88	
V (13-15)	15	Tuareg	13.75	2.07	Muslim, much feared for their raiding Pagan, known to be naked, very little contact.
	16	Tiv	14.08	2.16	
VI (16-18)	17	Banana	15.69	1.75	
	18	Gwosa	16.34	1.84	

* The Ordinal choices in Roman numerals I-VI are calculated from categories of mean choices; e.g. I-1 to 3, II - 4 to 6, III 7 to 9, etc.

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who descended from the north on settled towns and caravans for plunder and slaves. Even today they are feared for their aggressive and warlike ways. The pagan groups who are most contacted, the Banana and the Owesa peoples, many of whom live as a despised minority among the Kanuri, are rated the lowest among the non-Mualim groups. While those peoples who have many recent converts to Islam, like the Babur or the Yeruba, are rated much higher than the less contacted pagan peoples like the Mandara, Magari and Tiv, who are in their turn rated higher than the more closely contacted Owesa and Banana.

Occupation

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The occupational role which a person performs is a major determinant of status in the total society. Traditionally, as well as contemporaneously, any person holding a political position is accorded a high status in relation to all other occupations. The higher the political position in the governmental hierarchy, the higher the

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status accorded the person doing the job. Thus the status of a slave, for example, is strongly dependent upon his occupation. In Magumari a slave of the District Head, who gives the District Head free labour and has no political ties or power, has a very low status. On the other hand, the District Head considers himself the slave of the son of a former Shehu, because his father was a slave of the former Shehu. The District Head's status in the society as a whole is high because of his occupation as a District Head, notwithstanding his slave background.

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Koranic mallams are accorded prestige because of their close connection to the supernatural which gives them specialised powers, and because of the leading role they take in rites de passage.

The variation in their status is due to their success (see below pp. 225-226, arziyi) and their birth.

793 228, arsiyi) and their birth. There are mallams who form part of the
 [565] highest ranking status group in the state as well as peasant and beg-
 gar mallams. Each political leader of any size has his own mallam
 [693] attached to his organisation, as do many powerful men. Since Koranic
 knowledge is also legal knowledge the judiciary is a specialised,
 high status sub-group of mallams.

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 [565] Beneath the political and religious occupations lie the
 broad base of peasant or commoner roles, which are differentiated
 primarily on the basis of material success. Among these occupations
 [441] it was observed that the role of wealthy trader obtained the highest
 status. This is due to its being the most lucrative in comparison to
 554 all other non-political occupations. Traditionally, the occupation of
 829 butcher, blacksmith, tanner, petty broker, and barber are accorded
 shame (nungu) status in relation to other positions, while drummer-
 entertainers are also considered low status people who have no proper
 sense of dignity.

Informants defined shame status of occupations by whether
 or not it would be shameful for a "descent" free person whose father
 was a mallam or a political leader to take up the job, aside from rea-
 sons of economic necessity (knansake) which (allegedly) excuses the
 role occupant from shame. The reasons given for shame (nungu) occu-
 pations are as follows:
 (1)

- [826] (a) butcher - he cuts animals, mallams who do this are bad mallams;
 he takes life for money; he smells of blood (the Kanuri
 equate blood closely with life, soul and personal power).
 (b) blacksmith - they made arms for the enemies of the Prophet.
 (c) tanner - they smell badly; their work smells unpleasantly; only
 a man with no proper shame could do such work.

(1) Composite statement from informants.

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554 (d) barber - they are ignorant; they know bad things (fear of witchcraft) and magical malevolence which is also attributed to hunters, medicine sellers, magicians and Koranic mallams.
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554 (e) petty brokers - they take property to sell in the market that is not their own, and then they give the money to the property owner, but they never give the true amount, they always keep their own share, they can never be trusted. Good people could never do such work. A broker is not vertically related to others, he is an individual agent - it is often difficult to find out exactly where he lives. His non-attachment makes him less likely to be a person whom people can trust. There is also much reasonable experience behind his cheating, which many know of to their loss.
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 [558] Kanuri notions of status are such that any person who takes up any of these occupations due to economic necessity is not supposed to be accorded as low a status as if he were born into the occupation. This idea gives support to the value placed upon upward mobility in [775] Kanuri culture. One mallam told the writer that he had read in the Koran that people, who were of these low status occupations would never reach paradise, even if they were good and proper in their behaviour all their lives.

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 577 The lowest occupation status is that of money-lender, for it is widely known that this practice is contrary to the edicts of the Muslim religion. In real life this approbrium varies a great deal primarily because of the covert admiration given to money-lenders for their material success which allows them the cash surplus to loan for interest.

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 [167] The colonial period has seen the growth of many new kinds of occupations that require western education. At first, outsiders, often from the southern parts of Nigeria, were brought in to man the few essential jobs in the mechanical workshops, the hospitals, and the offices. Today, they are rapidly being replaced by northerners and in Bornu itself, by Kanuri.

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555 in Bornu, itself, by Kanuri. It is recognized, especially in the
871 upper ranks of society and among the urban masses, that some western
education is a prerequisite for successful advancement in political
offices and in the civil service in general. Because the government
educational system is not entirely controlled by the existing Kanuri
office-holders it has proved to be a method of recruitment into high
status positions that allows for a certain measure of social mobility.⁽¹⁾
One informant, the eldest son of a deceased District Head, is related
to the royal family of Bornu. His fondest wish is to be appointed
some day to the position of District Head which he feels is his birth-
right. But he has no formal western education, knows very little
Hausa, and therefore has very little chance of ever achieving this
aspiration.

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571 With the expansion of all governmental services since the
end of World War II, there has developed a large group of young civil
servants, all of them western educated to some extent, and in varying
degrees, who are referred to by the local British as "the mallams"
or "the young mallams".⁽²⁾ They are the clerks, agricultural field
assistants, teachers, sanitary inspectors, veterinary assistants,
571 medical dispensers, etc. They read newspapers in Hausa and English,
[212] own radios, wrist watches, socks, European made shoes, bicycles, and

- 871 (1) That there is still much control exerted is illustrated by the
563 school-boy population in Maiduguri which was used for questionnaire
purposes by the writer. Of the 168 boys in the secondary and the
senior primary schools, 21 were of the Babur tribe; of the 21 Ba-
bur boys, only two were (by their own admission) in the secondary
school, while 19 were in the senior primary. The Kanuri majority
has less control over the students from the districts who are
chosen to attend the central urban senior primary school than they
do over who is to receive promotion from senior primary to sec-
ondary school. In such a discriminatory atmosphere, many non-Kanuri
youngsters change their names to more Kanuri-sounding ones.
(2) of. Leith-Ross, S., The Development of a Middle Class in the Fed-
eration of Nigeria. Paper delivered at the 29th Session of the
International Institute of Differing Civilizations in London, Sep-
tember 1955.

571 aspire to higher positions in the German political organization. They will be considered in greater detail later.

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554 In order to assess more accurately current trends in occupational status among the young western educated group, the senior primary and secondary school population was asked to rank 55 occupations using the same "freedom of choice" instructions employed above for the questionnaire on the various ethnic groups. It was hoped that the methodology would elicit level of aspiration rather than level of achievement scores so that some objective measure of the status ratings of these occupations could be obtained. It is felt that the high position given to such status positions as Shaba and Wasiri indicate that the boys were responding in terms of the actual prestige given to the status rather than judging the position by whether or not it was open to them personally. Although significant differences have not been analysed, some observable differences in the scores of the younger boys as compared to the older boys are suggestive, and therefore these data have been presented separately. The young boys (age 13-15) had African teachers while the older boys have among their teachers Europeans as well as Africans. As in the previous case the test was administered in the Kanuri language.

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184 Despite the high correlation between the two groups, it is possible that there are differences in the evaluation of high status occupations among the younger as compared to the older boys. This is indicated by the fact that of the twenty most highly rated occupations the younger boys average (cardinal) rank for European jobs was 9.7, while the older boys average (cardinal) rank for the same variety of job was 11.7. On the other hand, the younger boys average (cardinal)

[text continues on p. 203]

TABLE VI

Occupational Choices of Maiduguri School Boys *

Senior Primary (younger)				Secondary (older)			
Schools	Choice Occupation	Mean	Average	Choice Occupation	Mean	Average	
(cardinal)		Choice	Deviation	(cardinal)	Choice	Deviation	
1	District Officer	6.99	5.3	1	Shehu of Bornu	5.21	4.7
2	Engineer **	8.27	5.9	2	District Officer	6.03	5.0
3	Medical Officer	8.42	7.2	3	Wasiri of Bornu	7.15	5.2
4	Member of Northern House of Assembly	8.57	5.0	4	Member of Northern House of Assembly	7.72	4.4
5	Shehu of Bornu	8.60	7.0	5	Government Service	9.21	5.4
6	Agricultural Officer	8.98	6.6	6	Koranic Mallam	9.26	9.4
7	Government Service	10.64	6.2	7	Agric. Officer	10.66	6.7
8	Wasiri of Bornu	10.80	7.2	8	N.A.	12.06	6.2
9	N.A.	13.92	6.3	9	Chief Scribe (Maiduguri)	12.19	5.8
10	Bank manager	14.51	7.5	10	Medical officer	12.19	6.2
11	Company (European) manager	15.95	7.4	11	District Head	13.69	5.3
12	Chief Scribe (Maiduguri)	16.31	7.4	12	Alkalai (judge)	17.02	9.3
13	Radio Announcer	16.62	8.2	13	Kalgama (a D.H. to-day) traditional title	17.88	7.9
14	Company (European) clerk	17.15	6.0	14	Bank clerk	18.40	8.1
15	Alkalai (judge)	17.18	7.5	15	Engineer	18.51	9.2
16	Bank clerk	18.70	7.5	16	Company (European) clerk	19.71	6.2
17	Koranic mallam	19.31	9.2	17	Bank manager	20.10	9.3
18	District Head	20.07	8.6	18	Radio announcer	20.76	7.6
19	Journalist	20.20	7.3	19	Farmer	20.97	9.4
20	Mechanic	20.25	8.9	20	Company (European) manager	21.70	8.3
21	N.A. councillor	22.90	8.8	21	Journalist	21.76	7.4
22	Kalgama	24.54	9.5	22	Owner of retail store	22.65	5.9

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Schools: Senior Primary (younger)				Secondary (elder)			
Choice (cardinal)	Occupation	Mean Choice	Average Deviation	Choice (cardinal)	Occupation	Mean Choice	Average Deviation
23	Truck driver	24.96	7.2	23	Trader (with credit from European company)	22.73	8.0
24	Truck owner	25.25	9.5	24	Village head	23.94	7.3
25	Owner of retail store	26.53	9.0	25	Nurse (male)	24.45	10.4
26	Nurse (male)	26.86	8.5	26	Hotel (Bar) owner	25.57	6.7
27	Trader (with credit from European company)	27.08	8.9	27	Truck driver	25.93	7.3
28	Village head	27.75	7.1	28	Mechanic	27.77	9.8
29	Carpenter	28.30	8.9	29	Trader	29.49	10.9
30	Building con- tractor	28.80	11.1	30	W.A. councillor	29.61	9.4
31	Hotel (Bar) owner	29.84	8.6	31	Truck owner	30.68	9.5
32	Farmer	30.21	10.5	32	Kachalla Shohube (traditional title) no job today	31.88	10.1
33	Scale man (cash crop buyer in bush)	32.51	6.8	33	Building con- tractor	31.90	9.6
34	Hunter	34.29	8.4	34	Carpenter	31.94	7.8
35	Small retailer at roadside table	35.29	6.9	35	Tailor (on sewing machine)	32.34	7.6
36	Hamlet head	35.82	7.1	36	Scale man (cash crop buyer in bush)	32.91	9.2
37	Kachalla Shohube	35.82	10.4	37	Hamlet head	33.46	7.3
38	Blacksmith	35.92	7.7	38	Small retailer at roadside table	33.66	6.8
39	Trader	36.20	9.4	39	Mud house builder	34.82	9.4
40	Tailor (on sewing machine)	36.55	7.8	40	Charm seller	37.52	8.8
41	Shoemaker	36.85	8.4	41	Horned servant	38.62	6.1
42	Horned servant	38.16	7.5	42	Hunter	38.88	7.4
43	Mud house builder	38.70	7.6	43	Kola nut seller	38.90	6.3
44	Hat maker	40.33	7.0	44	Shoemaker	39.86	6.8
45	Kola nut seller	40.51	6.0	45	Hat maker	40.00	6.6

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School: Senior Primary (younger)				Secondary (older)			
Choice (cardinal)	Occupation	Mean Choice	Average Deviation	Choice (cardinal)	Occupation	Mean Choice	Average Deviation
46	Weaver	41.54	9.4	46	Shehu's slave	41.03	9.1
47	Petty broker	41.98	7.2	47	Labourer	41.54	5.9
48	Calabash maker	42.74	7.0	48	Blacksmith	42.05	8.5
49	Barber	42.95	6.0	49	Barber	42.15	6.1
50	Charm seller	43.27	8.9	50	Weaver	42.44	6.9
51	Shehu's slave	43.81	8.0	51	Calabash maker	44.03	6.5
52	Labourer	44.02	6.4	52	Petty broker	45.15	6.5
53	Butcher	45.04	6.1	53	Drummer-entertainer	47.08	5.6
54	Drummer-entertainer	47.23	6.8	54	Butcher	47.33	5.5
55	Moneylender	48.74	6.2	55	Moneylender	47.96	7.0
N = 83; Mean Average Deviation 7.7				N = 67; Mean Average Deviation 7.4			

- * Using Spearman's rank order correlation (R_{hs}) on the cardinal choices, the younger and older boys show a correlation of .90 in the ordering of the 55 occupations. (See Siegel, B. Nonparametric Statistics, (1956) pp.202-210).

- ** The week before the test was administered an engineer spoke to the younger boys on the possibilities of future careers in engineering.

463 rank for traditional high status jobs among their first twenty choices
 554 was 12.0, while for the older boys the same score was 7.3. That is to
 184 say, there are grounds for investigating an hypothesis (which needs
 further testing for its validation) that the older schoolboys are less
 enamoured of high status European jobs than their junior school fellows,
 of whom many have just recently come into the city school from bush dis-
 tricts. (This "difference" may, of course, reflect the fact that the
 attempt to create an irreality situation is more difficult for older
 than for younger boys).

178 The occupations which the British have supported by salaried
 463 appointments, such as Shehu, Wasiri, Alkalai, District Head, Village Head,
 554 have kept their higher status. On the other hand, unsupported but tra-
 ditionally high status positions such as Shehu's slave, horsed servant
 of a chief, or Kachella Shahu (colonel in the pre-British Kanuri army)
 have not retained their high status positions, relatively speaking. The
 exception to this rule is the Koranic malle who, although not give of-
 ficial support in the form of a salary, has kept his high status because
 178 of the continuity of his religious functions into the present day. The
 463 following table compares these types of occupations for both the younger
 554 and older boys, using averaged cardinal rankings.
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TABLE VII

Supported and Unsupported Traditionally High Status
Occupations

	<u>Ranking</u>	
	Younger	Older
State supported traditionally high status	15.4	11.9
State unsupported traditionally high status	36.9	31.9

It should be noticed that here again there seems to be a ten-
 dency (not significant statistically) for the older boys to rank the tra-

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[184] ditional occupations as having higher status than the younger boys. In their choice of Kanuri malla the older boys put that status in 6th place, while the younger boys placed it in 17th from the top status. The main distinction, however, is clearly shown. Once the traditionally high status occupations have lost their support and major functions, they tend to atrophy in the eyes of the population and they are ranked lower.

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554 For the remaining comparisons, a scale is used which divides the table into high, middle and low status occupations. Those chosen from 1-19 are high; those from 20-38 are middle; and those from 39-55 are low status occupations. Figures given in the tables are average ranks in the category being considered taken from their cardinal positions.

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[171] (1)
It has been recorded for West Africa by several writers that young African schoolboys are more interested in white collar jobs than in any other kind of occupation, including the technical. (In Leopoldville even the educational jobs are less preferred to clerical work). The Kanuri material indicates that technical and administrative jobs are both accorded high status and are in turn distinguished from all forms of manual labour. In the general category of manual labour, European jobs such as carpenter, truck driver and mechanic are accorded much higher status than traditional jobs such as tailor, shoemaker, calabash maker, or labourer. This is consistent with the qualitative statement made above that, within peasant occupations, material income is a large determinant of the differentiation among occupations. The exception to this generalization is "farmer" which the older boys place 17th, and the young-

- (1) See Jahoda, G., The Social Background of a West African Student Population, British Journal of Sociology (March, 1955); Mercier, P., The Evolution of Senegalese Elites, UNESCO Bulletin of Social Science Number 8 (1956); Comhaire, J., Some Aspects of Urbanisation in the Belgian Congo, American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 62 (June 1956), pp.8-13.

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554 er boys, 32nd on the list. This is in accord with the general high value placed on farm ownership and farm production, not farm labour. It is good to have a farm, and this means then that you are a farmer, but it is even better if you can have a labourer or some of your followers work the land for you. Thus farming is not contradictory with high status, only farm labour. The following table summarizes these comparisons.

TABLE VIII

Prestige of White Collar and Manual
Labour Occupations

<u>Kind of job</u>		<u>Ranking</u>	
		<u>Younger</u>	<u>Older Boys</u>
White collar jobs	high	11.9	11.9
Manual labour (European type jobs)	middle	26.9	28.9
Manual labour (Kanuri type jobs)	low	34.1	43.3

The final comparison to be made from the table is that between self-employed as against non-self-employed European occupations. The following table indicates the ranking which these two differently organized sets of occupational roles are given by the schoolboy population. It should be remembered that it is this group among the total population who, more than any others, have open to them the possibility of western type jobs.

TABLE IX

Prestige of the Employment Relations
in European Jobs

<u>Kinds of employment relations</u>		<u>Ranking</u>	
		<u>Younger</u>	<u>Older Boys</u>
Western jobs non-self-employed	high	11.1	14.4
" " self-employed	middle	27.4	27.2

The results indicate that self-employment as it is known by the Kanuri is less highly evaluated than its opposite. Certainly this is a result of the fact that all high status European (and Kanuri) occupa-

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554 tions are within larger organizations. However, this comparison suggests that to young western educated Kanuri there is very little choice to make between whether or not they would work as an independent entrepreneur, or within some larger organization.

Birth Ascription

554 Although Kanuri society is, and always has been, a fluid one in which people could (within limits) move up and down the status hierarchy, rank is also judged in terms of an individual's birth into a particular bilateral family. Because of the greater importance of the agnatic group, its status in the society determines to a much larger degree than any other what birth status is accorded to the person.

[613] Several factors, fixed and variable, add to or subtract from the birth status. A fixed factor is the individual's birth order. The eldest son (maji) has a higher status than his brothers for it is known that he is heir to his father's compound and thus to much of his social position. However, this can vary. If the father is very old and his children very young, then a brother of the father will be regarded as the logical heir to the compound as its authoritative head, thus lowering the effect of his young nephew's maji status.

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602 Despite birth order and the inheritance factors affecting it, one of the first questions asked about a stranger entering a community is, "who is his father?". The political leaders of Magumeri refused to allow the writer to hire a "wandering minstrel" as a water boy during the first few weeks of the field trip because, as they said, "no one knows who his father is." That is to say, his original place in the social organization, his legal unity with an agnatic group which would answer for him and make him a responsible person, was unknown. Thus he

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602 was considered inappropriate as a servant and household member to a powerful newcomer to the community,

Matri-kin do not give a man much ascribed birth status one way or another. However, the matri-kin often aid the individual and if they are a powerful high status group in the society, he may derive some benefits from this relationship. But these rewards must be realized before this ascribed status is worth anything to ego in the eyes of others.

The importance of birth status was made plain during the gathering of genealogical data. A well-known "arriviste" in Magumeri, who served as the District Head's right hand man and principal link with the urban community, gave a completely trumped-up genealogy which included, patrilineally many antecedents who had been the horsed servants (ko'una) of well known nobles of late nineteenth and early twentieth century Bornu. Only later, when crosschecking some of the material, was it discovered that this informant was the son of a man who used to tend camels for their owners in the Maiduguri market and that he, himself, had started life as a gatherer and seller of bush grass for horse fodder. His faked genealogy reveals his sensitivity to his low status background and his desire to give a newcomer the impression of continuity regarding his origins. His own rank at the time of the interview was that of horsed servant to the District Head of Magumeri, so that the faked genealogy indicated his desire to create for himself a family background of similar status to his present one.

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156 Along with other explanations (see below pp.225 -228 , arriri) birth ascription is also used to describe the reasons for success or failure at any given role, especially among the high ranks of society where improper behaviour can be attributed to the person's rise from a

554 lower level. A high born, successful chief explained the improper, dis-
 602 reputable behaviour of another chief by claiming that this sort of thing
 [56] was not surprising behaviour from the son of a slave. At the peasant
 level, birth status can count as well in raising or lowering an individ-
 ual in the eyes of his fellows. A man is given higher status because
 his father is rich or is a powerful Koranic mallam, while it may be whis-
 pered of another that his mother was a pagan, or his father was a black-
 smith, thus lowering his status in the eyes of others.

565 As in most complex stratified societies, birth in Bornu into
 602 any one level determines to a large measure what range up or down of
 554 status positions an individual is likely to achieve in his lifetime. (1)
 There is a much higher chance that high status positions are occupied
 by the sons of high status persons rather than the sons of peasants.

[178] Western education and the plethora of jobs opening up is latterly crea-
 [648] ting a more widely mobile society, but it was British policy at the
 beginning of the colonial period to educate the sons of chiefs. The ad-
 vantages of this policy were soon perceived by the leaders of the society.

[271] Consequently, a large proportion of the young western educated group are
 [369] sons of the traditional political leaders. There is no conflict over
 this tendency from the rural population, who still do not value western
 education very highly, although rumblings of resentment are heard in
 565 the large urban centre. At the peasant level many of the craft workers
 463 in Magumeri, the potters, dyers, blacksmiths, calabash makers and the
 602 other craftsmen, are from kin groups that have engaged in these indus-
 tries "duk" (right back through time), for as long as any of them can
 remember. However, except for the potters (females) and blacksmiths,

(1) cf. Lipeett, S.M. and Bendix, R., Social Mobility and Occupational Career, American Journal of Sociology Vol. LVII (March 1952) pp. 494-504.

565 all the crafts have members who have decided to enter these activities
 463 during their own lifetime from family backgrounds in which the dry sea-
 602 son activity has been quite different.

554 On the other side of the question, there has always been room in Borno for the ambitious climber. Historically, the use of slaves, servants and apprentices, rather than potentially jealous, conniving relatives in the social, political, and economic organization, has left much room for the discounting of birth status. Moving from one status to another, if it is a better one, is considered a good thing while moving down the status grades is explained as knanghka (literally: hunger pushes him), i.e. he was forced into it by circumstances. Related to this is the Kanuri belief that status, to be preserved, must be validated. It is not enough to be born the son of a District Head; the individual must prove by his behaviour, both before and after he obtains the status, that he is a good chief, or a [558] good mallam, or a good dyer or farmer. If this is not the case, then birth status can be a hollow thing which becomes a means of derision and criticism to be used against a man by his fellows.

In summary, the Kanuri society is not classified neatly by ascribed birth statuses. There are other dimensions of rank which modify and change this biologically given status. Thus birth, although extremely important, is only a rough guide and not a precise measure of a man's status in the social organization at any particular point in time.

Wealth

556 The Kanuri differentiate among individuals as to their wealth. This dimension of stratification runs from nguddi (a poor man) to galébu

556 (a rich man). There is no word to describe a middle range income, so that a speaker expresses this idea, if he has to, by negating both terms for rich and poor thus giving the ideal of a position somewhere in between the two extremes of his experience. The various translations given for ngudi reflect the Kanuri evaluation of this dimension of rank. A ngudi is a man without property, or possessions; he is a sad man and an unfortunate one. He wears shabby clothes, eats poor food and cannot entertain his friends, or give decent gifts to them when they have ceremonies. The galibu, or rich man, is the very opposite of all these qualities (ideally). That is to say, it is considered good and desirable to be wealthy and undesirable to be poor.

Wealth is used to subsist well. This means that it is good to have fine clothes and lots of them, good horses, a big house, more than one wife, a bicycle or even a car, and to be able to afford an airplane ticket to Mecca, and so on. Conversely, it is bad not to have some fine clothes, and, in general, subsist at a lower level of consumption.

Enhancing this dimension and elaborating upon it, are other cultural concepts concerning the purposes of wealth. Property is used to validate status. A man who is known to be comparatively wealthy and is not using it to establish and maintain obligatory relationships of discipline-respect and/or loyalty, is considered to be bayil or jokku (2)

[558] (stingy, miserly). On the other hand, a man who gets into heavy debt because of his desire to give or loan money and material goods to his friends, relatives and supporters, and initiate large expensive ceremonies far above his actual economic assets is a wujirma (spendthrift).

(1) It is only when subtle discriminations are being made in conversation that a person is spoken of as neither rich nor poor.

(2) From the Arabic.

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The literal translation of wujirma is illuminating since it points to the sector of behaviour believed to be associated with spendthriftiness. Literally the term means a man who initiates many ceremonies and celebrations (wujir), and goes to a great many as a participant. So many, in fact, that this is a major occupation with him. As in many societies, Kanuri ceremonial participation validates an individual's membership in a relational network. Thus kin members who do not attend one another's ceremonies are "far kin" to each other. By going to many ceremonies a man may be trying to enter into and create many more relationships than he can actually afford. Since he does not have the material resources to sustain his mutual obligations with all these people, his behaviour is considered foolish and imprudent.

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Related to this kind of behaviour but somewhat different to it is the excessive giving of money to praise-singing drummer-entertainers for a few moments of publicly bought acclaim. One young civil servant in Maiduguri was strongly motivated by a desire for increased status. He related how he had become enraged at a dance one evening in the city because he had only one pound to give to the praise-singers (the informant's salary was £7.10.0 per month). He spent the pound very quickly and then other young men took over and gave money while he remained as an onlooker to the singing of his age-mate's praises. Before the evening was over he had spent fourteen pounds of government (N.A.) funds that he was carrying, in his desire to compete with the others for the services of the praise-singers. Praise-singers often attempt to shame people into giving more money than they can afford in order to have their praises sung longer and more loudly. Most informants consider consistent over-giving, in this respect, to be

556 foolish, and call persons who behave this way wajirna. On the other
 533 hand, as Smith points out for the Hausa, the giving of money to
 (171) praise-singers by wealthy and powerful men, or the maintenance of a
 personal band, which is customary for District Heads and the Shehu, is
 perfectly legitimate conduct and validates their high status. (1)

556 The optimum use of wealth is described as häre. The kan
häre (roughly the wisely generous man) is he who uses his wealth for
 his own benefit, and that of his family, friends and supporters. He
 does not have to go into debt to achieve his goal, for he is strong
 enough to know how to balance that which he has, against that which his
 social relationships require of him. Since there is always pressure
 from others for property use, and this is reinforced by a desire on
 the part of many individuals to give, in order that their status may
 be enhanced or raised, it takes a strong self-confident person, or a
 very wealthy one, to fit the ideal behaviour associated with the kan
häre.

556 The chief difficulty with the achievement of this ideal of
 571 balanced generosity is that there is an enormously greater number of
 people looking for benefactors in the society than there are benefac-
 tors with property surpluses who can absorb them, and satisfy their wants.
 Any man of any social rank whatever can always find a multitude of per-
 sons who would willingly become his tada or tada njima (his boy, his son,
 his loyal subordinate) and people of lower rank continually ask and beg
 others with more property to give it to them. They say to the higher
 status person, "You are rich," "You have many shirts", "You are powerful",
 "You have much food", and so on, and then finally, "Turo she" (Give to

(1) See Smith, M.G. The Social Functions and Meaning of Hausa Praise-Singing, Africa, Vol. XXVII, no. 1, (January 1957) pp. 26-45.

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me a . . ."). This validates the higher status of the person being asked to give and can strengthen or initiate an obligatory subordination of some kind on the part of the would-be receiver. But, because there are so many more potential receivers than possible donors, all informants felt that it was always wise to keep quiet about the exact proportions of one's wealth in order to limit the amount of requests which widespread knowledge of property surpluses would bring.

It should be noted here that this imbalance of donors and receivers and the culturally defined potentiality of their inter-relationship, offers a much travelled route for social mobility in Bornu.

Any man who obtains material surpluses may begin to use his property to obtain discipline-respect (barsum) relationships with an expanding [558] group of followers. Contrarily, a man whose material wealth is declining finds his followers less apt to remain within his organization. This is one of the primary elements in the operation of political and economic power.

An example of what this can mean in every day life is seen in the following example. In Magumeri the local school teacher who is on a monthly civil service salary is considered moderately wealthy by local rural standards. During an interview, at the writer's house, the teacher became increasingly nervous and fidgety, continually watching a rather elderly peasant who seemed to hover around the base of a tree about twenty yards in front of the house. Towards the end of the afternoon, the informant interrupted the conversation to ask whether the writer had seen the man near the tree. He then complained bitterly that this man was no friend or relation to him, but had been begging for a hat (price, four to eight shillings) for the last few weeks. The

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556 teacher said he would wait in the anthropologist's house until the man
571 left so that it would be possible to return to his compound without
being accosted by the man and his request. During the conversation
that followed, the informant described how he felt somewhat ashamed
at not being able to give freely to everyone who asked him for things,
but knew that if he did so he would rapidly be reduced to poverty.
Besides, he said, giving once leads to expectations in the future of
similar generosity both by the receiver and others. He closed the con-
versation by saying that he thought that this difficulty over gift-
giving and generosity versus spendthriftiness and miserliness, was
the most difficult problem in Bornu social life.

556 What this means is that the ideal of kare (wise generosity)
183 is extremely difficult to achieve for the mass of the population. For
the very rich who are able to distribute much wealth to many loyal and
potentially loyal followers, this is less problematical. But for the
great majority of Bornu society there is a constant conflict between
the desire to validate status and raise it on the one hand, and on
the other, the necessity to maintain some solvent standard of living
for oneself. This points to a great difference between European and
Kanuri cultural tradition. In the West it is considered virtuous to
save rather than spend, and the individual obtains some satisfaction
both internally and through the praise of others for this behaviour.
The Kanuri can receive public recognition of high or low status by
their use of property both for themselves and others, i.e. consumption.

[454] This has resulted in a positive evaluation of covert or secret savings,
which tends to partially relieve the conflict between status validation

[123] and the necessity of maintaining a standard of living. This is the
reason why Kanuri friends were forever telling the author not to reply

556 so openly about his own financial matters and property to the incessant
183 questions which were thrown at him. They insisted that this would only
(123) lead to a multiplication of requests for gifts of money, clothes, food,
(251) and loans. Again, this is one of the reasons the Kanuri give for having
both above and below ground storage pits for food crops. A household
head is very reluctant to ever discuss exactly how many storage pits he
has in his compound or how much of last year's crops remains uneaten.
If this information can be obtained at all, much assurance has to be
given that it is to be kept entirely confidential.

But the conflict over the proper consumption of wealth by
self or others for status validation is not completely solved by covert
(152) savings. Since the values of the society are, to some extent, always
the values of a majority of its individual members, this conflict takes
place both in the individual's social and his psychological life, and
is in this writer's opinion, one of the main sources of anxiety among
the individual members of Kanuri society.

Rural/Urban

369 Although rural or urban status can be changed by residence,
829 there is a differentiation, more sharply made by upper class city dwell-
lers, between "bush" (rural) people and urban dwellers. City people
feel themselves to be more "advanced" and sophisticated, better informed,
and more socially mobile than the rural population whom the city dwellers
consider to be ignorant, dirty and untrustworthy. The rural people make
much less distinction between urban and rural residence, although they
all know that there are many "wonderful" things in the city, such as
the cinema, or the Maiduguri market where goods from all over the world
are on sale daily. Another difference noticeable immediately to the

369 Another difference noticeable immediately to the 216.
342 stranger is the house type. In the cities, people for the most part live
829 in mud dwellings, often with corrugated iron roofing, while in the "bush"
the peasant contents himself with a grass-roofed hut. In 1957-58 several
of the rich leaders in Borno were building, under private contract, city
houses for themselves of burnt brick, with steel windows, electricity,
and cement floors.

369 In Magumeri, complaints against rural people are always heard
829 from the N.A. officials stationed there, whose homes are in Maiduguri, the
capital. The constantly speak of the permanent residents of the bush as
dirty and immoral, and claim that they would never marry a "bush" girl.
[585] When the District Head did marry a girl from a neighbouring rural town,
the wedding foods cooked by her female relatives and distributed to the
dignitaries of Magumeri were of such a low quality that it became a stand-
ing joke to tell of the rural kind of marriage that the District Head had
made. On the other hand, the rural people do not feel as great a difference
between themselves and others of their own social level in the city. They
know the city to be more heterogeneous ethnically than the rural areas, but
this does not affect their lives a great deal, either in the bush or when
in the city on visits. The rural person does, however, distinguish between
himself and those like him, and the civil servant from the city who is in
the bush to administer it. These administrative personnel are feared,
respected, and considered to occupy a different world whose income is
higher, and whose power is dangerous. The rural peasant consequently avoids
the civil servant in the bush, unless his confidence is won over through
continued and harmless association.

Class as Status and Socio-Cultural Segmentation

121 In a complex stratified society having many dimensions of
status and involving social mobility up or down these dimensions, the

121 notion of class becomes a somewhat knotty one for the researcher. This is because it lacks the precision of his analytically derived status dimensions and yet it demands discussion, for the very good empirical reason that the people themselves recognise class distinctions. The theoretical answer lies in the nature of the concept of class as distinct from status. Class is a more inclusive category which cuts up an entire society into only a few segments. In so doing it incorporates many of the status dimensions by correlating them into ranges so that all the high statuses of dimensions a, b, c, d, . . . n, are unified into a large segment of the population, while the same thing may occur at other ranges along the status dimensions, giving the society one, two or more classes. When these segments are present, the outward signs such as differentiation in language, dress, manners and other social and cultural characteristics of class membership, become another status dimension to that recognisable membership in any class confers varying status upon the individual. Because of the noticeable sub-cultural differences between class segments, recognizability and imitation often blur the distinction and widen the scope for social mobility. Nevertheless, in order to actually obtain continuous high status in the society, the person must be seen and judged as having high rankings along the dimensions already discussed above. In the following discussion, this theoretical framework can be seen as the process underlying Kanuri class distinctions.

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829 In the every day life of Bernu, the life spans of different individuals in the population are lived out within differing ranges of experience (which may change through time). This rather abstract statement can easily be explained by an illustration drawn from the judgements made by a young peasant in Magumeri on the subject of wealth. He reported that there were very few wealthy people in Magumeri village itself,

556 but that in Gwonyiri, about three-quarters of a mile to the east of
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829 Magumeri village, there were at least a dozen "rich" men. When asked
[434] why they were rich he answered that they had very large farms (about
fifteen to twenty acres) and made much money from their cash crops.
[442] One was a wholesale kola nut dealer and sold many (four to six) "packages"
[465] of nuts (one package equals five to eight thousand nuts) per month. It
was illuminating in this conversation, in which the young man was asked,
"That is a rich man?" and, "Who are rich men?", that he had not mention-
ed the District Head of Magumeri who earns officially seven hundred
pounds per annum, or any of the well-known rich traders of Bornu who
live in Maiduguri. When asked whether the rich peasants of Gwonyiri
were wealthier than the District Head or a rich trader in the city he
said, "att a'l gbidigbdi" (that is something different) because "sandi
kan gbd" (they are different people). The District Head is an aristo-
crat, a man of power, and the rich trader is a kan birni (a city man)
but "ama andi tala" (we are peasants). That is to say, the informant's
birth and socialization into the rural peasant sector of Kanuri society
made his range of judgments along the dimensions of status different
from that of a chief or a rich trader. Like other informants, his con-
cept of the status dimension was divided into "my" range, or "our" range,
and "their" range. Although he knew that the range of statuses along
any dimension went beyond "our range", he perceived people outside this
to be "different" and he used the expression "different people" to de-
scribe them. Yet he certainly recognised that they were of the same eth-
nic group as himself. When he was first asked about rich people he used

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556 the range of statuses he associated most closely with his own life. (1)

565 The differing life experiences of large segments of the population bring about common ranges of experience for the whole segment. Thus rural peasants form one large massive segment which can be called a class.

565 A large number of people in the city feel themselves to be 369 a part of this lower class segment, the tala or peasants. Certainly the common poverty among them keeps them all within one category of economic activity (materially); however, other factors are involved. A large portion of the city population are extremely recent arrivals in the urban centres. Bornu cities, of which Maiduguri (or Yerwa as it is called in Bornu) is the largest, have grown enormously in the past few decades.

[166] This means that most of the people in urban centres are of recent rural origin and thus still retain many of the sentiments of their background. (2) This is not meant to contradict the discussion above on the rural/urban. However, it should be remembered that the distinction is extremely var-

[241] ious and very recent for many people. Another unifying factor is the maintenance of rural farms by city people, who move out, or send out a son or a servant, to cultivate a farm in the bush during the growing season, thus retaining their contact with the rural areas. One of the other

(1) Differing ranges of experience and personal aspirations may cause an expansion of the scale which people refer to. Thus one very ambitious young trader, from a peasant background, who still lived in the bush but was contemplating a move to the city, told the writer immediately, when asked, that Alhassan Dan Tata of Kano (one of the richest men in Nigeria) was a rich man. Nevertheless, lower class bush people generally used a frame of reference more nearly similar to the young peasant above.

[162](2) Population figures for Maiduguri are as follows (see Coleman, J.S., op. cit. p. 74):

1921	1931	1951
16,274	24,359	54,646

Government service personnel in Bornu estimated the population of Maiduguri at 75,000 to 80,000 during the period 1956/57.

565 one of the other
 369 common features of the tala or peasant class is the verticality of
 571 their social relations. This is especially true of political affilia-
 tions. All rural and most or many urban tala can give an easily elicited
 answer to the question, "Whose tala are you?" The person questioned
 then tells the name of his Lavan (Village Area Head). ⁽¹⁾ Thus tala not
 only connotes peasant or commoner, it also means someone's peasant, i.e.
 [178] under the jurisdiction of some political office holder. The fact that
 there is in the city a small but growing number of people who do not
 feel this verticality or connectedness upward in a traditional manner is
 one of the most profound portents of social change in contemporary Bornu.

565 The tala, rural and urban, have many cultural characteris-
 369 tics in common. They most often wear a short work shirt (dankiki) dur-
 ing the day, and their conversation is less etiquette ridden and more
 direct than that of the upper class. Linguistic usages among the tala
 vary from place to place, but generally involve the dropping of some of
 the consonantal phonemes. Thus in Hagumeri muako (hand) was pronounced
muko by the tala. These linguistic differences are considered to be
 less elegant and correct compared to the speech of the upper class. As
 in many class societies the speech of the lower classes is coloured by
 many words which the upper class considers to come within the scope of
 profanity. Thus a Kanuri tala always sprinkles his friendly conversa-
 tion with many references to Allah or to "the wonder of Allah", or even
 occasional exclamatory references to excrement and the excretory func-
 [828] tions. To the upper classes evil deeds are committed by evil men (kan
dibi); the same wrongdoer is more often referred to with an epithet like
shege! (a bastard) by the tala.

[633] (1) The city is divided into large wards with Lavans as their Head Men
 and Hamlet Heads (Bulama) as the heads of sub-wards.

565 shage! (a bastard) by the tala.

The political office holder from the rank of Lawan (Village Area Head) up the hierarchy are considered "different" in contrast to the tala. Their judgements about occupations, birth status, wealth, etc., move through a different range than those of the lower class. Thus a good house would mean a well-built mud dwelling to a tala, while a kentuoma (an aristocrat, a man of power) would think of a good house as a burnt brick building with electricity. The connection of the kentuoma with the political hierarchy and the utilization of their power, authority and generally higher income make them seem far apart, as a group, from the tala. They dress always in robes, never work shirts, always go abroad from their homes on horseback or in a vehicle, with some retainers, and consider themselves superior to the tala who they administer.

Traditionally these two large segments, the rulers and the commoners they exert power over, formed the two large class segments of Borno society. Informants relate how in the old days tala wore only dark indigo dyed blue clothes, while the ruling classes wore light coloured gowns. Today this distinction is much less adhered to, especially in urban areas. Nevertheless, out in the rural District Courts, it is still common to see lower class plaintiff, accused, and the witnesses all wearing navy blue gowns while the court officials appear in (441) light blue, green, white and other pale colours. Wealthy traders in the city are allied with the ruling class often serving as their financial backers and sometimes, it is rumoured, buying themselves political jobs. There is no definite sense of separateness on the part of the small wealthy non-ruling group in the city from the social organization as a whole. Their loyalty and respect to the traditional office holders

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is not perceived by them as being in conflict with their lack of direct power and authority in the state.

The result of this coordination of lower statuses into a peasant-commoner class and high statuses into a ruling upper class is the differentiation of Kanuri society into two broad sub-division, that of the upper and the lower classes. Language, wealth, power and authority, occupations, manners and etiquette all differ within these two large divisions. The differences are not, however, either/or distinctions. They can be seen as a large number of recognizable signs which tend to place the person higher or lower on a scale of class attributes. It is at this point that class, or rather its cultural characteristics, become not just a segmentation of society into large units, but a dimension of status. This process occurs through the simulation of class attributes, generally in an upward direction. For in Bornu, the appearance of upper class membership enhances an individual in his own eyes and those of his fellows. ⁽¹⁾ Thus the acquisition of items of upper class culture, such as large flowing light-coloured robes, or a fine horse, or many supporters and subordinates, or more elegant manners and speech, give a man higher status. But it is the dimensions of social stratification discussed above, rather than these cultural expressions, which are the underlying conditions for status. Thus if a person does not have a high status occupation, or is not of a sedentary Muslim tribe, or possess real wealth that he uses properly, or behave in all the other ways necessary for him to obtain high status, then the acquisition of some items of upper class culture merely constitute some blurring and

[114] (1) Nadel, S.P. A Black Byzantium (1947) and The Concept of Social
[171] Elites, UNESCO Bull. of Social Science, Number 8 (1956) has made this same point for Nupe, and on a theoretical level as a characteristic of elites in general, i.e. that they are copied by the rest of the population.

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(171)

levelling processes between the two large segments of the society. It is because of this status aspect of class that Kanuri, like ourselves, have a ludicrous image of the arriviste - the person who has some of the attributes of upper class society, but who can never learn all of them, for he is not "to the manor born".

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This account of the social organization of Bornu has been heavily weighted towards the male society. This is due admittedly to the primary male associations of the anthropologist. However, it can also be put down to the strongly male-centred framework of the social structure.

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The dimensions of status discussed above, of tribe, occupation, wealth, birth, rural/urban residence and class, hold as well for women as for men. But for the most part (leaving aside highly independent women, who tend to create their own status) a woman's social position can be more fully understood by tracing her relationship to the various males in her patrilineage, and her married life. Briefly, a woman receives relatively high or low status from three sources, (1) her agnatic descent group and its status in the society, (2) the status of her husband, and (3) her personal wealth. The interrelation of these three factors changes through time for each woman as well as varying from woman to woman, but they are the basis of judgements by self and others which set a woman high or low in the society. It will be noticed that (1) and (2) both refer not to the woman's status, but to that of males to whom she is related either by marriage or descent.

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It is claimed that traditionally the women in Bornu were more highly organized than at present. There were titled heads to a total association of women, who were organized in similar manner to the

173 (1)
 554 guilds. The Ma'aram or Shehu's sister, and the Maira, the King's
 562 mother were the head women of the state. There was also a Do'oma or
 571 head of zower (unmarried divorced women) for the entire state, as well
 [644] as the Oumsu, the senior wife of the Shehu. Each town had its own
 local head of women and head of the unmarried divorced women under the
 [574] titled heads in the capital. When visitors or an army regiment arrived
 the total community of women could easily be organized under their
 leaders to prepare food and proper lodging for the strangers. The
 titled women in the capital were invested to their offices in male robes.

178 The title Do'oma (head of zower) is said to have fallen into
 554 disuse after the fall of the first dynasty at the beginning of the nine-
 562 teenth century, but was revived in 1925 by Shehu Sanda. It exists today
 [644] but has no reference to zower. Informants around the palace claimed
 that except for the title of Maira (Queen Mother, but now held by any
 senior patri-female relative of the Shehu), the Oumsu (the Shehu's sen-
 ior wife) chooses the women to receive the titles of Ma'aram and Do'oma.
 554 Although it was not observed, informants claimed that at big celebra-
 562 tions of state, the titled women must wear their men's robes of office,
 527 men's hats, and walk with their special men's sticks. This ceremonial
 transvestism emphasizes the congruency of nobility, authority, and
 prestige with maleness.

554 In contemporary Bornu, the word ma'aram has come to mean
 562 the local head of the unmarried women, who are not linked very closely
 [431] into any overall state organization. It is customary for the women when
 they marry to give her a small payment, fataka (Kanuri for two shillings)
 which the men give to the Lawan (Village Area Head) before the marriage.

[476] The women are organized as a semi-formal work force under the ma'aram
 for quite traditional purposes.
 (1) See below pp. 269-270.

000 for quite traditional purposes. If visitors come to town, the head of
 554 the settlement or the District Head informs the ma'aram as to how many
 562 are coming and for how long. She then organizes the cooking of the food
 476 and the water carrying for the strangers. Some informants claimed that
 574 the ma'aram could commandeer cooking utensils (not food) in the market
 without payment while preparing for visitors.

554 The status of the ma'aram is formally expressed (as are all
 576 superior-subordinate relations in Bornu) by those who say alangubero to
 her and those who do not. The junior must always say alangubero to the
 senior as a sign of respectful greeting. All women who consider them-
 selves tala (wives of peasant-commoners) greet her with alangubero
 while all wives of Mai (chiefs), i.e. women of the Shehu, the District
 Heads of the Lawan, or the wives of the Alkalai (the Muslim judge) ex-
 pect that the ma'aram will greet them by saying alangubero. In Magumeri
 this rule was followed, but also extended. The wife of the District
 Head's chief follower (the Wakil) came from a high status Maiduguri fam-
 ily and was personally very wealthy. She was accordingly given respect
 554 by the ma'aram. It is the ma'aram in each town who always leads the
 562 organization of the women during festivities, during rites de passage,
 or at large celebrations such as religious holidays.

Success and Stratification

55 After rational empirical causes are considered the success
 828 or failure of any individual in Kanuri society can be attributed to his
 good fortune. This quality is an essential and variable aspect of human
 nature, essential for success, and variable from person to person and
 within the same person through time. If an individual moves up the pol-
 itical scale, amasses wealth, harvests a good crop, is lucky in gambling,
 wins judicial decisions, obtains power and authority over others, or

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828 makes what power he has work well for him, avoids illness, poverty and derision, or does anything that can be measured in terms of achievement, then the degree of his success is the proof as to how much arsiyi (good fortune, personal degree of success) he has in his hal (his nature, his being, his essence). Like Calvinistic pre-determination, arsiyi is hoped for before the fact, and indicated or substantiated after the fact, of success.

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829 In answering questions about arsiyi, informants of all classes and ranks are generally agreed that no matter how much success a peasant has with his farm, his wife, at cards, or at his craft work, he can never possibly come close to having as much arsiyi as even a bad District Head or Village Area Head. When finer discriminations are asked for, however, disagreements sometime arise. Thus informants when questioned as to who has more arsiyi, a trader in the city who recently bought a big truck and has a large compound of wives and followers, or a somewhat effete District Head, they answered according to how they ranked wealth alone as compared to political power. Since both of these dimensions of status are usually congruent when ranked high, the discrimination is often a difficult one. Nevertheless there is, at any one level in the society, a large measure of agreement about the amount of arsiyi of the various social roles in the society at any one time. People from different levels of the society give somewhat differing pictures of the distribution of arsiyi throughout the society. This results from their different vantage points and therefore differing opportunities for perceiving the social structure. Thus although many lower class people find it difficult to decide whether or not the effete District Head has more arsiyi than the rich city trader, those close to the chief, including himself, feel that the rich trader has more.

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This brings up an interesting observation. The judgment of any individual about the distribution of arsiyi in society at any one time is his particular notion about the arrangement of social roles in the social structure. Furthermore, his estimation of the distribution of arsiyi at any one level of the hierarchy, e.g. comparing the behaviour of one District Head with another, is his judgment of the success that occupants of similar roles were enjoying relative to one another.

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Arsiyi seems to be used in two related ways in Kanuri culture. Firstly, in an enormously heterogeneous society, it gives a satisfactory answer to individual variations along one of the most affective dimensions of behaviour, success in achieving immediate and long range goals. Secondly, it is used as an explanation for the nature of the social structure, i.e. for its stratification. Those people, who have higher status along any dimension of stratification, have more arsiyi, which accounts for their ability to maintain such a role in the social organization. These two ways of using arsiyi as an explanation for differentiation are related so that what results is a Kanuri theory of society that at once validates its structure and explains the changes in personnel which accompany a system where personal fortunes may rise and fall rapidly. Thus a high status position in the structure indicates that the person has that amount of arsiyi. His performance of the role required by this status may show him to have even more arsiyi then he will outstrip others who occupy the same status and seek the same goals. On the other hand, he may do badly which will indicate a loss of arsiyi and a loss of status. Arsiyi is also, besides being a theory of society, a theory of causation, which integrates social and individual differentiation under one simple, mystical force, personal

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828 good fortune, which is continually being validated since its presence

829 is manifested after the fact of its operation in behaviour.

Chapter VIII

[p. 229]

Political Organization

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The political organization in Bornu can be seen as a continuum of power and authority running from small to large scale structures. These include the extended household organization, the hamlet and ward, the village area, the district, and finally the state, which today has a place in the Northern Region and the Federation of Nigeria.

[648] In Bornu, each expansion of the scale of the organization includes part or all of the previous one, while cross-cutting the entire system and intersecting it with varying intensities at different levels is the colonial administration.

621 The Hamlet and the Ward

Within the point of view of the present discussion the basic unit of political structure is the extended household organization with its head as the primary governmental figure. The processes of fission and fusion by which these units expand or contract within themselves has already been described (see above pp. 80 - 92).

571 There is however a larger scaled process of fission and fusion which
621 integrates that previously discussed with a wider political organization. This is the underlying process of Hamlet and Ward formation.

The following examples illustrate this process in action.

[361] Approximately three miles south-west of Magumeri is the
[632] small village of Gworongo (pop. circa 250) which falls within the
[249] administrative jurisdiction of the town area of Magumeri. Surrounding
[276] the town are small plots of a specialized crop (gworongo) which is sold
[302] in the local markets along with tobacco flowers as a stimulant and a
cosmetic for colouring women's teeth. In 1953 one of these full-time

(1) Solanaceae Incanum

571 In 1953 one of these full-time
621 Gworongo farmers whose holdings were somewhat above the average, moved
166 his household three-quarters of a mile to the northwest of Gworongo
(1)
Hamlet to be closer to his fields. With him he took his two wives and
a younger brother and his wife. The younger brother also had fields
at this spot through inheritance. Two sons moved as well. One has since
left to go and live with his father's brother in Maiduguri, and one was
preparing for a patrilocal marriage in 1957. A stranger to Gworongo
Hamlet arrived in 1954 and cut a bush farm for himself about one mile
to the north of the 1953 settlement. He had no wife at the time and
reports that he asked the original mover if he might build a hut near
the new settlement and take his meals with its head. For this hospital-
ity he helped mend the owner's bramble fences on the Gworongo plots,
repaired household fences and huts, and sometimes gathered grass for
the senior's horse. He has since married (with some financial help in
the form of a loan and a gift from the settlement head) and is not a
62 settled member of the new community-in-the-becoming. All residents of
this new settlement look upon the founder as its senior member, and when
he dies his son (in the settlement) will take over the headship. Dis-
putes between members are always taken to the senior for settlement be-
fore going to any higher authorities (which has never been done), while
disputes with outsiders follow the general rule of going first to a pol-
62 itical leader superior in rank to both participants. The new settle-
ment does not yet have a name; however, in all likelihood, if it con-
tinues to grow and expand it will be called Aji or Ajiri after the
original founder whose name is Aji.

(1) This is the reason given by the farmer himself. Local gossip has
it that he had quarrelled with the Hamlet Head of Gworongo over
taxes.

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This same process has occurred at Pallatari, a tiny settlement of five interdependent households, one mile west of Magumeri. Here a semi-nomadic Fulani herdsmen settled about 1947 with several brothers. They asked the permission of the Magumeri Village Area Head for this privilege before settling. They have some cows but are today primarily sedentary agriculturalists. The original brothers have now been joined by two strangers, also Fulani, and the settlement now has the political status of a Hamlet, with the original founder as the Ward or Hamlet Head - Bulana.

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The political status of the first settlement still connects it in a subordinate manner to the parent Hamlet of Gworongo. All the people of Gworongo and those of the new settlement call themselves tala Lawan Minabe - the peasants of Lawan Minn - the Village Area Head

[651]

of Magumeri and its surrounding cluster of hamlets. The founder collects the taxes from the other males of the new settlement and gives it to the Village Head of Magumeri. He would rather take disputes with other community members to the Magumeri Village Area Head for adjudication, than to the Hamlet Head of Gworongo and does so. As the years

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pass, and if the new settlement prospers and expands, bit by bit the founder or his heir in this embryo Hamlet will come to be identified as a Balana (Hamlet Head). As long as people live in the settlement, the heir to the founder's compound will have the status of Hamlet Head and represent the little community as its political leader to those in the hierarchy above him. He will in turn be the instrument through which the political control of those below him is exerted by the wider political organization of the state.

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In the following diagram of the new settlement near Gworongo, it should be noted that although the Hamlet-to-be has not yet taken on

[Text continues on p. 233]

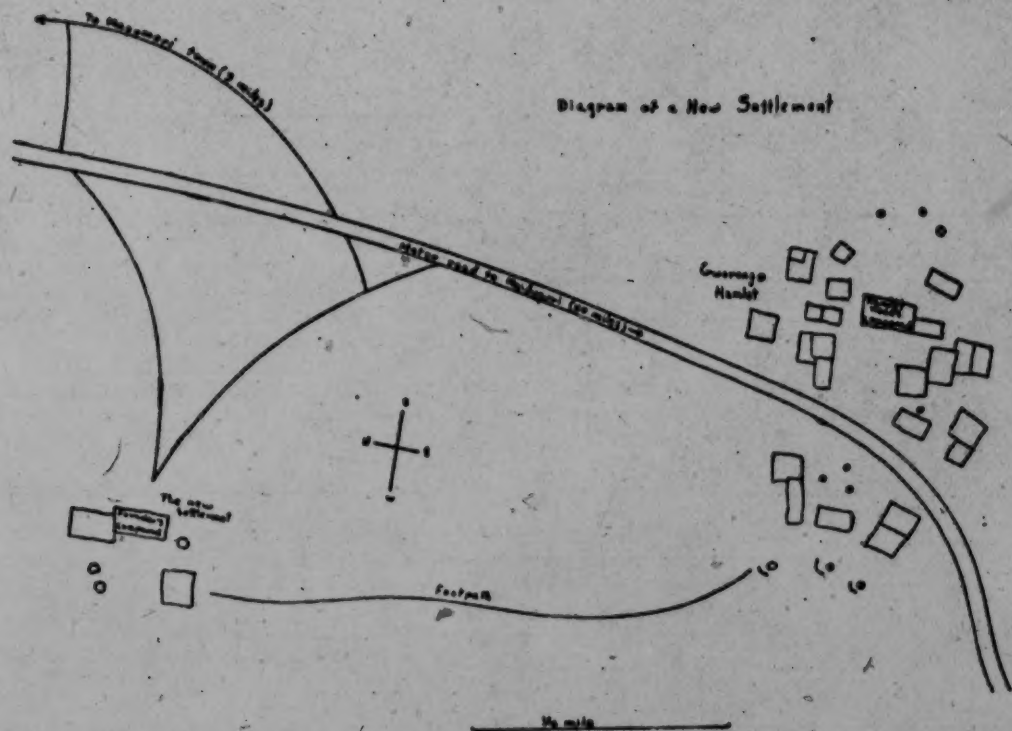
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Diagram of a New Settlement



361 the typical U-shape of a Kanuri town, its embryonic form can be seen in the arrangement of the households, and as the founder claimed, if it continues to grow, the pattern will emerge more clearly.

571 The same process of establishing small jurisdictional u-
632 nits of political organization goes on in the larger towns within the
621 wards. In Magumeri town, one ward (Nguro) under its Balana is slowly approaching the condition where another Balana will be empowered and the ward split in two. It is now a large ward, of twenty-five households. Within this unit one man has his own organization of extended households. These include several of his younger brothers and sons with their wives and children. He collects taxes from all of these households and delivers it directly to the Village Area Head of Magumeri. However, he recognizes the authority of the present ward head in settling disputes and always consults the latter first, before taking a matter to any higher authority. One of his sons has married a girl from the household of the present ward head which also links the two organizations. However, if the smaller organization of households continues to expand as its senior man predicted it would, then he, and after him his heir, will eventually become the fully accepted heads of their own ward.

621 We can now explain more precisely what is meant in this
571 study by the term extended household organization. It is based on or modelled after a patrilocal extended family organization, but may include non-kin members as well as ~~men~~ who are all subordinated in some way to the authoritative head. At the local level, the term applies to a territorial unit of closely contiguous compounds each with its own head, but with some form of subordination to the organizational head of the larger unit. If the extended household head can maintain the

If the extended household head can maintain the 234.

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571 subordination of his followers, then he is on the way to becoming a
554 "big" man which may eventually mean his attainment of the political
622 position of Hamlet or ward head (Balama), depending upon the location
of his settlement. This achieved status is then stabilized through
the inheritance rules.

The Village Area

632 The small village area includes a town cluster of adjoining
compounds (usually 500-2000 population) and a surrounding group of small
settlements (Hamlets) in the immediate area. The larger towns are
broken down into wards, and as we have seen the ward head and the
hamlet head have the same political status, that of Balama. This is
due to their similar political roles as local leaders under the Lawan
633 (Village Area Head). In larger cities such as Maiduguri, Gaidam, or
Nguru, the "wards" of the city include such large populations that
their head men receive the title of Lawan. These Lawans in turn have
Balama under them as heads of sub-ward divisions in their jurisdiction-
al area.

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[565] In the town of Magumeri, the Lawan has jurisdiction over all
persons in the Village Area who describe themselves as his peasants.

This excludes all persons who are directly subordinate to the District
[651] Head, the Judge, or the N.A. in Maiduguri. Formally he collects a
Haraji (assessment) tax from everybody except the District Head, but
in reality, he has little political control over anyone who has function-
ing attachments to the Bornu N.A.

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621 The Lawan acts as his own ward head, of the ngure Lawantari
(the Lawan's ward), and many of the compounds in this ward house the
followers of Lawan, i.e. the members of his extended household organiza-
tion. Some of the householders had compounds in this ward long before

632 Lawan arrived. They look upon Lawan as their leader, but also feel
621 more deeply rooted to their place of residence. This group has seen several Lawans come and go and if Lawan were to consistently overstep the limits of his authority, they would not be averse to complaining about him to his superiors. Their goodwill and support must be sought by Lawan, and they must not be administered to their perpetual detriment. 632 Indeed this check on the Lawan's power applied to all his tala (peasants) many of whom know that they can complain of misrule to his superiors. Another check which any tala has over his political superior is migration. He can always move to some other town where he is treated more judiciously. All political leaders, especially Lawans and District Heads, are aware of these checks on their power and are to varying degrees influenced by them.

632 In Magumeri, the Lawan's own extended household organization
621 includes his son, and about twenty followers under a chief follower
571 (Wakil). Each of the men in this organization has a household of his own somewhere in Lawan's ward (they are not necessarily contiguous), and farmland given to him by Lawan. They receive economic aid from their superior in the form of food, clothing, money, etc., and a status in the extended household organization of the Lawan. Peasants often ask them to intercede for them with the Lawan, or to help them in arranging a meeting between disputants with Lawan as judge.

The members of Lawan's extended household organization are his "administrative staff". They keep in touch with gossip, especially political news; aid in raising taxes; act as contact men for anyone wishing to see him; help him on his farms; and carry messages for him. His followers on foot and horse give him as well the appearance of being what he is, a man cut above his peasant subjects, a local ruler.

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If the Lawan moves to another town, or is dismissed, the persons who are his tada move with him, while his tala (peasants) wait patiently for a new Lawan to collect taxes and to settle their disputes.

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Wisely, the Lawan's son in Magumeri stays out of any active leadership role in his father's organization. His job as the adult education (literacy) organizer for the District of Magumeri, keeps him travelling much of the time and he never interferes with the political organization which he may one day inherit. During the entire period of the field trip he was never once observed taking any role of power and authority towards any of his father's followers, all of whom treated him with deference. His father is one of the few enthusiastic supporters of adult education and enforces its innovation quite vigorously in his own jurisdictional area, since he knows that this will raise his son's political respectability in the Bornu N.A. (1)

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All land use rights in the village area except hereditary usufruct are vested in the Lawan. However, dispensation of land use rights can, in practice, be carried out by Hamlet Heads within the hamlet boundaries, although all such decisions must be cleared with Lawan before their final validation. The Lawan is also approached and told of all land rentals which he witnesses. As noted before he is paid a fee for witnessing marriages and ratifying divorces, and he hears and tries disputes involving his peasants. Indeed most peasants feel more secure about any decisions they have made affecting their neighbours

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(1) The Magumeri Village Area peasants are nevertheless not responding very keenly to adult education. They find Lawan's enthusiasm for literacy rather confusing, since one of the main propaganda themes given to innovators by the N.A. (designed by the British) is the alleged skill that literacy gives the peasants in ascertaining whether or not their tax receipts actually correspond to their payments. The fact that it is the Lawan who taxes them - and overtaxes them they believe - and he as well who prods them to learn to read, is one reason why they are mistrustful of the literacy campaign.

632 if the matter is ratified by a person of authority in their community.

Thus if a man in Magumeri town wishes to move his compound walls in order to expand the size of his dwelling space, he speaks to his ward head about it and they both go to the Lawan and speak to him of the decision. Lawan asks his men to find out if the contiguous neighbours object, and if not, the action is ratified. This supervisory function of political leaders, especially the Lawan, is a well used mechanism for avoiding possible conflicts in the interpersonal relations of people in town and village settlements.

632 The Lawan collects two kinds of taxes, although only one is
651 officially recognized by the N.A. Firstly, there is a tax collected for the state from all settled people in the village area which is in the form of a property assessment on all males over the age of eighteen to twenty. Any amount the Lawan obtains with the aid of his organisation above the amount written on the tax receipt stubs, is (illegally) (661) his own income. Overtaxing in this manner is a widely accepted practice, but must be kept within limits, since a complaint to the British (648) by a resentful peasant could bring on the dismissal of the Lawan.

632 The second tax collected by the Lawan is the sakat or tithe
651 on farm produce. Unlike the first tax, there is no official sanction
661 for this levy beyond that of tradition, and the power and authority of (648) the Lawan in his Village Area. Colonial officials assured the writer that this practice was illegal and occurred only sporadically. In a survey of 75 households in three Village Areas (i.e., under three different Lawans) all peasants who had produced a farm crop reported paying a tithe in kind or approximately ten per cent of their millet crop. In twelve cases the household heads declared that they had given ten per cent of all crop production including millet, beans and groundnuts.

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One of the informants offered the information that if he did not pay sakat to his Lawan, his farmland would be taken away from him. Checking this information proved to be difficult, since no cases were ever reported or observed. Consequently, people only speculated about the results of not paying sakat. The belief that land might be confiscated if the sakat tax is not paid is not universal, but the belief that some sort of reprisal would result from non-payment is held by all peasants.

The following excerpt from field notes illustrates the kind of experience that promotes this belief if the Lawan's authority is not responded to with some degree of subordination.

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Bukar is a newcomer to Magumeri. He has been given some land by the Lawan and when not farming plies his trade as a hat maker and mud house builder. Because he had no previous social ties in the town, he has attached himself to the Arabic teacher of the primary school, an N.A. employee and a highly respected religious practitioner. This attachment appears to Bukar because of his strong personal fears of supernatural malevolence. The Arabic teacher gives Bukar a place in the social relations of the town, plus free charms and medicines for illness and bad luck. Bukar looks after the teacher's house, repairs it, cleans it up periodically, and watches it during the latter's absence.

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On one of these occasions of the teacher's absence, Bukar had borrowed some matting from his mentor for use in his own compound. The Lawan, in whose house there was to be a naming ceremony, needed some extra mats for temporary shelters. He sent a follower over to the Arabic teacher's to borrow some of the extra mats that were stocked in the teacher's compound. These were taken, and Bukar was asked what had become of the others. He answered that he had borrowed them and that he was in charge of watching the teacher's possessions during the latter's absence. He refused to produce the matting from his own compound and was brought to the Lawan where his defiance was rewarded by the Lawan telling him that unless he produced the extra matting so that they could be borrowed by Lawan, then he (Bukar) was no better than a common thief. Bukar still refused and the matter was dropped.

When the teacher returned Lawan complained to him of the disobedience and lack of respect of his man Bukar. The teacher said nothing, but instead of reprimanding Bukar, sent him to fetch back the mats borrowed by Lawan (the ceremony was over).

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661 He therefore supported the lower class person against his fellow upper class member.

632 Several months later Bukar was involved in a case against
661 a Fulani herder whose cows had eaten his millet. The case came
683 before Lawan who ruled that although the Fulani had pulled a
684 knife on Bukar (a serious offence), it was Bukar who had started the fight, and it was this act that had caused the cows to wander over Bukar's field and devour his, as well as another man's, crops. Bukar was then fined heavily for starting a fight, fined for the other man's crops and given an extra fine of five shillings as kafelo for the District Head. (Bukar reports that his crops were already eaten before the fight started; besides this, pulling a knife during a fight is a separate offence to the fight itself, and the Fulani was not fined for this misdemeanour).

632 In discussing the matter, Bukar's senior, the teacher explained that Lawan was angry at Bukar for his behaviour over the
661 mats and was adjudicating against him for this reason. When Bukar finally raised the money for the fine he was told by the teacher to give the money to Lawan and to say that he (Bukar) was a small insignificant poor peasant. He was further instructed to tell Lawan that if there was any help that Lawan needed in house building, he (Bukar) would be pleased to offer his services. The teacher also cautioned Bukar about the future. If Lawan continued to adjudicate against him and give him heavy fines, then he should request to take the case to a higher court. Thus the teacher wished his peasant-follower to make his peace with Lawan, but if this were impossible then higher authorities would be resorted to and Lawan's power by-passed. In other words the teacher felt that the political structure of the town should be respected within limits.

This case illustrates how easy it is for a Lawan to make a reprisal for lack of sensitivity to his power and authority on the part of the peasants under his jurisdiction. His power of granting land use rights, settling disputes, and imposing fines, intersects the lives of his peasants at such vulnerable points that to thwart his power and authority and remain in his territory without the possibility of reprisal would be impossible.

632 A Lawan is installed officially by the Shehu at an investiture ceremony in Maiduguri. Even if he inherited the position he must
[643] still be "turbaned" by the Shehu to hold office properly. Some village areas claim the same lines of Lawana well back into the 19th century,

632 others are of mere recent vintage. Dismissal from office is occasioned by (1) the political manoeuvring of the District Head who wishes to replace a Lawan with one of his own followers; (2) migration out of a Village Area or complaints by peasants to the British against their Lawan; (3) failure to raise enough tax, or attempting to raise too much. However, if a Lawan is responsive to his seniors and does not mulct his peasants to the point of hardship, migration, and complaint, he has a fairly secure position in the Bornu political organization.

The District Organization

632 In Bornu the Lawan represents a link between the higher political organization and the landed peasants. To the latter he is the most easily accessible member of the ruling class, and to many, especially in the hamlets, the exact nature of the political organization above 634 the Lawan is known in only vague outline. However, in terms of the 631 Emirate, the District Head (hereafter written DH) and his administration of the District hold a central position. If there are any disturbances, irregularities in tax revenues, increases in crime, migration out of the District, or failure of any policy goals, it is to the DH that all agencies at the center turn for an explanation.

634 To the lowly peasant the DH is a man in another world, a world of awesome power, riches and courtly life. A Lawan may go abroad to oversee a new well in one of his hamlets, or to mark off the boundaries of a new farm, or take a tax census, but the DH rarely leaves his compound to go out among the people, except to collect the homad cattle tax, or to appear at the Shehu's court for some state ceremonial. [492] When he does venture forth, it is a royal sally, to the playing of pipe [411] and drum, with a troop of galloping horsemen and servants brandishing swords, spears and dane guns (muzzle loaders).

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The District organization is roughly similar throughout the twenty-one such divisions in Bornu Emirate. Each District shares the [368] name of its chief town. This town serves as the District capital and houses the DH and his followers, the District representatives of the N.A., a District court house for the Alkali (District judge), and a [491] Junior Primary School. Today most District capitals are connected to the Emirate capital by motor road. Formally, the DH is responsible for the administration of all village areas within the confines of his District.

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A DH is formally appointed and installed by the Shehu in consultation with his Council and the Colonial officials. Only high ranking men in the state are considered, and in every case but one, all present DH's are the sons of men who held the same rank. In the contemporary scene British ratification means that the choice must be weighted towards a literate English speaker wherever possible. The Shehu must feel that he is obtaining a loyal follower, and must benefit materially from the choice, by gifts in cash and kind from the would-be DH. (This latter action is illegal and unfortunately there is insufficient information for the writer to make a confident descriptive statement about gift giving by would-be office holders). Finally, the Shehu's Council must be won over or at least some of them, so that they will either support the aspirant or split on their opposition to him.

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The DH's compound is supplied by the N.A. and is the most impressive building in town. Each DH keeps a compound in Maiduguri, in the Shehuri (palace) ward of the city, with a residing Wakil (Chief follower) who appears at the Shehu's Court to represent his superior at the [634] palace. In the District, the DH maintains a large extended household. 571 organization of followers and slaves. These live in contiguous and non-

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contiguous households close to their superior's residence. The organization has a Wakil as its sub-head who acts as DH on the few occasions when the DH is absent from his District headquarters. The general term for all male members of this extended household organization is waladai (roughly non-kin follower) or tada Ajiabe (sons or boys of the DH). The waladai, whether slave or freeborn, are also called ko'uma if they have been given a horse by the DH which gives them a higher status than the unhorsed members of the organization. In Magumeri a few of these followers have joined the DH during their own lives, most other freeborn as well as slave, are hereditary followers of this particular DH and his father before him.

Collectively the members of this group are referred to by non-members as tada Ajiabe. When they are older and married with farms⁽¹⁾ (given to them by the DH) and perhaps have some dry season activity, they are at first glance hardly distinguishable from ordinary peasants. However, unlike ordinary peasants, the DH uses them as messengers and helpers in nomad cattle tax levies. They in turn never fail to ride in a gallop in the DH's honour, if they have a horse. Furthermore, they must be ready and willing to move with their leader to a new District should he be stationed elsewhere. Younger members who live either in the DH's compound or with older members of the organization are often feared by respectable townsmen. They have no farms, no wives, and no households of their own. They talk, play cards, drink, look for amorous experiences, and are felt to be spies for the DH.

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[423] (1) Within the available land of the District Headquarters there is an acreage which is under the direct dispensation of the DH and beyond the jurisdiction of the Lawan. The DH may also appropriate farm land for his own use or dispensation beyond the borders of present farming activities in the District capital.

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571 Conversation among peasants suddenly stops when one of these fellows
561 approaches the group.

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692 The DH's followers are disciplined by the DH rather than
the local Lawan. Peasant legal cases usually come before the Lawan for
adjudication. But legal cases between peasants and DH's followers are
brought to the DH or the District Alkali (Muslim judge) court. The DH
disciplines his followers for any high-handed treatment of peasants
because such behaviour if continued unchecked can bring action against
[681] him from higher up in the state. Thus the DH Magumeri severely and pub-
licly reprimanded his followers for misdemeanours such as assaulting
peasants or not repaying debts. One member of the DH's organisation
was publicly reprimanded and privately threatened with expulsion from
the organization for burning down a pagan's hut because the latter would
not give up his wife to the desires of the follower.

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571 The followers of DH receive money, food, clothes and status
in the society as members of a powerful organization. In return they
give him the prestige afforded to anyone who has a large retinue of
loyal supporters in a culture where such followings are highly valued.

[557] Informants often remark that one DH was a "bigger" man than another

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571 because he had more followers. They also serve as his executive and
661 carry out his decisions in the District. Thus in Magumeri District,
where not many of the people are enthusiastic about western education,
the DH uses his followers to abduct children from their parents in order
to fill the two classrooms of the District's only school. Another DH
known to the writer assesses each Lawan for the amount of taxes he must
raise annually with the understanding that there will be enough left
over after revenue is delivered to the capital for the DH and the Lawan
to have some cash gains. In one case a Lawan of the District claimed

634 that his assessment was too high. The DH promptly sent out some of his
571 followers and gathered twice the assessment originally stipulated. He
661 then called in the Lawan to the District capital, reprimanded him and
gave back one-quarter of the excess tax raised by his followers.

631 Formally the Lawans are subordinate to the DH of their District. The DH relays information to them from the capital concerning the execution of their political duties and it is their responsibility to have these directives carried out. However, for various reasons to be discussed presently, some of the political activity of the DH is illegal under the present regulations. Therefore he often requires more than mere compliance to state regulations. As shown by the example above the DH wants cooperation and complicity in his own political organization of the District. Several factors militate against the absorption of the Lawans into the DH's organization. Firstly, the Lawan's salary and his income from taxes and political duties make him less dependent upon the DH than the latter's more disciplined followers. Secondly, the British have always viewed the Lawan's job as that of a local chief (see above pp.36-39) whose ties should be to the locality and not necessarily the DH. Nevertheless a DH's views are almost always taken into consideration by both the NA and the British when a new Lawan is to be appointed. This last point leads to a conflict. Dismissals and transfers are common occurrences among DH's. Because DH's often manage to get a few of their loyal followers into a Lawan's job, especially in the District capital, each new DH in a District is confronted with a few Lawans who are the loyal followers of his predecessor.

The result of this structural framework is a constant manoeuvring by the DH to either win the loyalty and obedience of his Lawans or replace them with his own followers.

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Good examples of these conflicts can be seen in some of

the recorded history of Magumeri District in the last fifty years.

From 1921 to 1929, Lawan Tayil, a follower of the DH, is only mentioned briefly and always alluded to as a competent Lawan. After the DH left the District in 1929 and was replaced by a new one, adverse reports by British officers (who had talked to the new DH) became more and more common. It was noted that Lawan Tayil was unpopular with the people, that there was emigration out of his village area due to exhortative taxation, and that he was disrespectful to those in authority. In 1934 he was deposed and a younger brother of the new DH was installed as Lawan. Examples like this are extremely common from Magumeri's recent past as well as from the other Districts. This is reflected in the length of term of Lawans in office, taken from three widely separated Districts. The average length of tenure for a Lawan who is the follower of reigning Lawan is ten years if the DH remains in the District; on the other hand, the average length of tenure for a Lawan (in the District capital) is four years after a DH has left the District.

There is a tendency indicated in the historical records

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for DH's to appoint younger brothers as Lawans. But this has its limits; sometimes kin are passed over, or relationships are broken because a kin member feels that he will be held responsible for his kinsman's behaviour. Thus in 1935, the Lawan of Magumeri asked the British authorities if he could be moved to another District away from the hegemony of an older brother who was his DH. By 1935 the British had received a great many complaints from Magumeri District about the oppressive taxation of the DH. Thus the DH's younger brother sensing that trouble was brewing for the DH, felt that it would be more advantageous for his own political career if he were out of his older brother's District,

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Another good example of this point was observed in the field.

The DH of Magumeri, Digma, had obtained a Village Area Headship in Damaturu District for his younger (full) brother in 1944, while he was DH of Damaturu District. His younger brother had been extremely high-handed in the administration of his Village Area and was difficult to bring under control. The brother was finally deposed in 1949, after Digma had been sent to another District and a new DH had taken over Damaturu District. When Digma was made DH of Magumeri in 1952, he made no move to install his younger brother as a Village Area Head (Iawan). He told the writer that it was his intention not to do so in the future because his brother was a "bad man" who oppressed his villagers if he got the chance, and such misdemeanors reflected back on himself as the head of the District. In the politics of Borau, the "unity of siblings" is tempered by the requirements of office.

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The N. A. Officials in the District

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Local representatives of the various branches of the N. A. are stationed in the District Capital. These include (in Magumeri) a District Chief Scribe and his assistants, a veterinary mallam, a hides and skins mallam, an adult education mallam, an agricultural field assistant, the Junior Primary School Headmaster, Arabic teacher, and student teacher, between three and five N. A. Messengers, two to four N. A. policemen, a prison warder, and finally a Muslim Judge (Alkali) for the District court, and his retinue of followers. This list may be expanded or contracted from one District to another, depending upon the number of civil service branches that are represented in the area. Today the tendency is towards expansion of these services and thus expansion of the personnel stationed out in the "bush." These officials are paid salaries by the N. A. and live in one ward of the District capital (away from the

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634 Lawan's section), usually near the District Head's ward. They are often
647 shifted from one District to another. Only one of the N. A. employees
living in Magumeri in 1956-7 had lived there for more than four years,
and almost all of them had lived in at least three towns in the previous
ten years. This mobility contributes to their social solidarity. Besides
this common experience of mobility, they are for the most part city-bred,
or at least city-trained, and form an extension of the urban bureaucracy
(571) out in the Districts. Their independent source of income from the civil
service, plus their common interests in the city and the state, make them
a separate class of cosmopolitans on the rural scene. Thus when asked to
name their best friends, these N. A. personnel almost always refer to per-
sons also connected with the N. A.

There is no simple formula to describe the interaction of N. A.
officials in the Districts with the DH. In some cases it is similar to
the DH/Lawan relationships when the Lawan is a follower of the DH's prede-
cessor in the District. In structural terms this means that the official
is not a loyal follower of the DH, but occupies some key position for which
634 the DH needs a disciplined subordinate. This occurs, for example, in the
647 office of District Chief Scribe. This official counts the tax revenues,
651 and prepares the balance sheets from the tax receipt books. Since it is
important for the DH to control the amount of tax money collected, and to
take some for himself to run his organization, he must be in close collab-
oration with the Chief Scribe.

634 In Magumeri (until August 1957) the District Chief Scribe
647 was a loyal follower of the ex-DH who had gone to another District. All
661 efforts by the present DH of Magumeri to win the support of the Chief
631 Scribe have failed. Other N. A. officials told the writer that the DH

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hinted at the inefficiency of the Chief Scribe to a touring British officer in 1957. After this alleged interview with the DH, the British officer stated that in his opinion there was "something going on here" and he suspected the Chief Scribe, because of a "shifty eyed look about him". In August 1957 the Chief Scribe was formally informed by the N.A. that he was being transferred to another District, with the understanding that the move was a reprimand. The DH is not free to manoeuvre someone more loyal to himself into the position of District Chief Scribe. (1)

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In many cases the relationship between N.A. officials in the District and the DH is one of respectful but carefully maintained social distance. The N.A. personnel are usually new to the District and generally desire to move ahead in their own civil service departments. In Magumeri, these N.A. personnel are asked to appear and eat with the DH between two and four times a week. This helps validate their upper class membership as a group apart from the rural population.

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- (1) The total politics of this manoeuvre are more complicated than this simple outline indicates. The British officer was accompanied by a high placed N.A. official from Maiduguri in order to reprimand the DH for not collecting enough taxes. (The N.A. official later sent word by messenger from the capital apologizing for his own severity on the grounds that he could do nothing else in the presence of the British officer. He also warned the DH to increase his tax deliveries in order to avoid future trouble). For a show of efficiency, as well as to save the DH from the direct blame, it is believed by the local officials that the Chief Scribe was chosen as a scapegoat. Whether or not this is true is impossible to know; however, it is clear from his own statements that the British officer was strongly of the opinion that the Chief Scribe was in league with the DH to mulct the tax revenue, and that the removal of the Scribe would slow down these efforts by the DH. The high placed N.A. official who knew better did nothing to correct this false impression held by the Englishman. And it was this false impression that led to the Chief Scribe's removal from the District. Whether or not the DH and the N.A. official planted the idea in the Englishman's head, or whether they exploited a suspicion already there, still amounts to the same thing - the removal of the Chief Scribe for a "misdemeanour" he did not commit, in order that it might be committed in the future.

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571 However, this and other moves by the DH to obtain friendship and loyalty from the N.A. employees in his area can never be totally successful in creating a unified political organization in the District. First of all, they can be moved to other Districts by their superiors and often are, thus creating the problem of new N.A. personnel constantly arriving. Secondly, their income from N.A. salaries allows them to be independent of the DH economically if they wish, while the power and authority of their own departmental superiors in the capital always acts to lessen the degree of sensitivity and possible subservience they may feel towards the DH.

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647 This does not mean to imply that the N.A. employees are completely independent of the DH. In many branches of N.A. activity it is either difficult or impossible at present to initiate or continue civil service programs without a modicum of cooperation from the DH. This is another way of saying that in the rural area the independent existence of other sources of power and authority besides the line (1) leading from Lawan through the DH to the Shehu is hardly recognized.

For example, it is impossible to establish a local forest reserve without the DH issuing orders to all Lawans ordering them to cooperate with a newly arrived District representative of the Forestry Department. Or again, it is the DH who at present enforces and maintains a regular flow of children into the Junior Primary School in his District capital. On the other hand, if the DH continually refuses to cooperate with N.A. officials and civil service programs are obstructed, complaints by local N.A. personnel, plus the failure of program goals can bring sharp reprimands down upon the DH.

The DH as a titled sub-ruler under the Shehu still has a

(1) The exception here is the European, who the peasant knows has much power.

634 The DH as a titled sub-ruler under the 250.
 647 Shehu still has a
 554 highly respected position in the society, and the N.A. officials are
 [576] ready and willing to pay respect to his traditional prestige. Thus
 if the DH (on the rare occasions when he does emerge from his residence) passes by, N.A. officials like everyone else stand up while he moves past them; similarly as a mark of respect they remove their shoes before coming into his presence.

634 Finally, if the N.A. official is not incorporated into the
 647 extended household organization of the DH, then the factional member-
 662 ships of the DH as compared to that of the official also tend to determine how much pressure the DH is able to exert in the situation. If the DH is closely connected to the Department Heads, and other high ranking N.A. officials, and these latter respect his friendship and judgement, then he may have an avenue of control over the local official through the latter's own superiors. On the other hand, if the N.A. employee is himself connected to powerful factions in the state, then the DH knows that this particular person can bring powerful forces into action against him.

634 The potential conflict between the DH and the N.A. officials
 647 disappears when the latter is part of the DH's extended household organization. In Magumeri, one N.A. Messenger and the N.A. prison warden were followers of the DH. The N.A. Messenger started about twenty years ago in Maiduguri as a seller of cut grass for horse feed. Later he became attached as a servant-follower to an ex-Shehu's son and from there (1) became a horsed follower (ko'una) of the present DH of Magumeri who

[838] (1) Bornu gossip attributes this rather large upward leap to a homosexual relationship between the servant and his master, which the Kanuri believe is one way for a man of no means to move up the social ladder; i.e. by making himself available sexually to a homosexual member of the upper classes.

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554 owes many obligations to this Shehu's son. Later, through his connections to both these men, and their connections in the Emirate, he was appointed to the job of N. A. Messenger assigned to the DH of Magumeri.

[661] The DH arranged that this man be used to deliver the N. A. salaries from Maiduguri to Magumeri. Since the salaries are in cash, the Messenger is able to do some quick trading with the money before he brings it back to [203] the District. Because of his constant trips back and forth to and from the capital, plus his many contacts among the nobles and officials of the State, this Messenger has become the DH's listening post for news and gossip from the city. This communication position is vitally important to the DH since he must know of shifts in policy objectives and personnel in the capital in order to gauge properly the pressures that may be exerted upon him from the center. The Messenger fulfilling this role has, in his turn, used his position to usurp a leading status among the followers of the DH, many of whom are either hereditary or long-term members of the DH's organization. They feel that he is "pushy" and confidentially accuse him of secret immorality. On the other hand, his fellow N. A. officials in the District maintain only a polite but distant relationship with him; (a) because of his close ties to the DH, and (b) because he always delivers their salaries late, which naturally antagonizes them. The man thus pays a high price of loneliness and semi-isolation for the key position he has carved for himself in the DH's organization.

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662 The prison warden who kept the little jail in Magumeri, although not formally a DH's follower, was well on the way to becoming

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 647 one, before he was re-stationed to the capital city by the N.A. He
 662 had arrived several years ago in Magumeri as the jail keeper and the
 DH had given him a place to live within the walls of his own residence.
 In consequence almost all of the jailer's friendships and social re-
 lations were with people of the DH's extended household organization.
 This created a gap between the jailer and the other N.A. officials
 who felt that he was not completely trustworthy as a confidential
 friend, since gossip and criticism of the DH - a common topic of con-
 versation - might be dangerous in his presence. Finally in 1955, the
 DH gave the jailer a young virgin of his household over whom he had
 marriage dispensation rights. This tied the relationship much tighter,
 and had the jailer stayed on in Magumeri, he would have been one of the
 few N.A. officials whom the DH could count on for subservient behaviour.

The D.H.'s Relations to the Center

631 The formal and informal links of the DH to the capital are
 634 (2)
 642 extremely complex and are only treated here in summary form.

Formally the DH is responsible to only one body in the pol-
 itical organization of Bornu, viz. the Shehu-in-Council. This body
 under the chairmanship of the Waziri (the Chief Councillor) decides on
 the policies of the State, draws up the annual budget, heads up the
 various departments of the N.A., acts as a court in trying cases of N.A.

- [648] (1) This move was not due to machinations in the N.A. A new, young
 British officer was at the time zealously working on the Bornu
 prison system and felt that more warders were needed in Maiduguri,
 which soon became the accepted policy. In the colonial service
 of Northern Nigeria, shifts and changes of various kinds can be
 labelled "improvements" in Reports, and the young officer receives
 some merit for his conscientiousness. C.f. the picture given by
 Joyce Cary, in his novel Mr. Johnson, of the British officers in
 Northern Nigeria, each with his own peculiar "improvement" en-
 thusiasm.
- [114] (2) A separate study of these relations is being prepared in collabora-
 tion with Prof. A. G. Frank, comparing the role of the DH with
 that of the Russian industrial manager.

631 personnel, and ratifies all appointments, dismissals and transfers of
634 the N.A. The DH may be informed of directives either from the Waziri's
642 office or from the relevant Department which would also inform their
local District personnel.

648 Officially, today, the British personnel both technical and
administrative, perform an advisory, not an authoritative, part in the
political organization. Although much of the "advice" is given at the
center, there is some contact between the colonial service officials
and the District during the touring duty of the officers. Such visits
are always publicized beforehand to the local officials and the Bri-
tish officer is always accompanied by a Shehu's Representative. Tech-
nical officers are generally concerned with their own particular pro-
gram in the area and unless they feel that the local authorities are
being uncooperative, they do not interfere in local or State politics.
The administrative officers have a much wider range of interests
which covers all areas of government not directly under the concern of
some technical department, i.e. taxation, courts of law, District Coun-
cils (local government) and complaints by the peasants against their
chiefs. Some also take an interest in one or more technical branch
and report their findings to the relevant department after their tour-
ing duties have brought them into contact with local programs.

634 Informally the DH has a house in the palace ward in the
203 capital and his followers there are links between himself and the
[631] center. The Wakil (chief follower) in charge of the town house visits
the Shehu regularly and represents the DH in the capital. Besides
this source of contact with the center, the DH receives information
from N.A. messengers, policeman and traders who travel continually from
Maiduguri through the Districts. By the judicious giving of gifts to

634 By the judicious giving of gifts to
 203 these travellers when they come to pay their respects in the District
 [431] capital, the DH can build up a large communication network through (1)
 634 which he obtains a many-sided picture of events in the capital. Fin-
 665 ally the DH is linked to a faction in the Bornu state which has its most
 662 powerful leaders in the capital. Traditionally these factions emerged
 [571] from the allegiance of nobles to the various agnatic lineage segments
 of the royal family. These remain today but are now joined by factions
 representing some of the heads of the modern civil service. DH's linked
 to more powerful factions receive better information and more protection
 than those joined to weak ones. Thus the DH of Magumeri who had in-
 herited a factional membership from his father which linked him to an
 effete second son of a former Shehu received much less support than a-
 nother DH who was linked to the faction headed by the present Waziri
 [203] (head of the Shehu's council and the N.A.). Because of the constant
 contact of the Waziri with all of the agencies of government including
 the British, the second DH had a much more intimate knowledge of the
 workings of Emirate politics at the center.

634 These informal links become important when it is realized
 662 that the DH works under a system of conflicting standards all of which
 648 can be enforced. Thus a DH must give large gifts periodically to his
 faction leaders, to the Shehu, and to many other persons throughout the
 state. The British see these as bribes, the Kanuri regard them as leg-
 itimate and obligatory. Since such expenses are not envisaged in a
 DH's salary he is forced to obtain the money illegally (according to
 634 British standards). Again, the DH's success in obtaining tax receipts
 651 is of major importance. One British officer told the writer that he did

(1) See the discussion above on nona and barsum for the dynamics of
 interpersonal relations involved in "paying respects", pp.57-68.

634 not care what the causes were for a consistent drop in tax receipts,
651 the very fact of diminution indicated an inadequate District organization. In order to obtain the nomad cattle tax the DH must have a large group of horsed followers whom he keeps in food, clothing and all other expenses. If he does not maintain this large organization he cannot collect the taxes; if he does then he must embezzle (by British standards) tax receipts in order to do so.

634 Furthermore, as in any bureaucracy, standards and their
631 enforcement change through time in their emphasis, often as a result of
648 changing personnel at the top. A new N.A. councillor became interested in school latrines, and started punishing recalcitrant DH's for not maintaining adequate toilet facilities in the District school. A British officer interested in roads was replaced by one interested in prisons and so on. These conflicts in standards and changes in emphasis bring punishments in the form of dismissals, transfers to poorer paying Districts and even jail sentences - and all this emanates from the capital. The informal links between the DH and the center help him to predict the course of policy and prepare for any changes in enforcement of the conflicting standards under which he has to operate.

The Organization at the Center

643 In Maiduguri at the eastern end of the royal plaza is the
[368] palace of the Shehu, the focal point of Bornu political organization.
[101] As a language and a culture Kanuri transcends its state boundaries, but within its organized bounds, the Shehu is the formal head of state. All measures, policies and appointments made by the central agencies are done in the name of the Shehu. Officially he installs office holders from the rank of Lawan up, at an investiture of "turbaning" ceremony which publicly proclaims the person's right to office. The Shehu is

643 The Shehu is 256.
793 also the formal leader of the religious community of the state. This
796 is embodied in his title "Commander of the Faithful", and is expressed ritually in various ways. Thus at the feast celebrating the end of Ramadan (a yearly fast) it is believed to be a sunna (injunction of the Prophet) that a special ram of the Shehu be killed by the Liman (Chief priest of Bornu). No one considering himself a subject of the Shehu may kill his own ram until the royal ceremony is completed.

644 At all annual festivals and state occasions, and every Friday, to a lesser extent, the Shehu is attended at the palace by representatives of the people. These include the nobility, any DH's who may be in the capital, or their city Wakil, and a representative section of the N.A. departments, a sample of the schoolboy population of the city, and the crafts and trade leaders of the entire city community. A symbolic pledge of loyalty and obedience is made through the saying of prayers for the health and welfare of the monarch and the state. The people, including all the nobles go down on their knees to their monarch, stand when he stands, remove their shoes in his presence, and speak to him only indirectly, using terms of reverence and respect incessantly in their conversation.

643 The question can be posed (but not answered at present) as to the real power and authority of the Shehu in the modern state of
{123} Bornu. The answer would require much more intimacy with the higher coun-
{178} cils of Bornu than was achieved during the field work. However, the writer feels that the monarch is becoming more and more a ritual head as the complexity of the modern state in its internal and external affairs increases. This has been aided and abetted in recent years by the extreme age and blindness of the present Shehu. It was commonly felt among informants around the palace, among DH's, and among many others of

643 lower rank, that the Shehu had a good deal to say in the appointment of new DH's, and could operate as a bulwark to protect office holders whose connection to the palace and/or Bornu tradition made them feel some reliance on the monarch's protection.

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1147 That this interpretation is open to the charge of ethnocentrism the writer is keenly aware, for it is the avowed British policy to create in Bornu a constitutional monarchy of the English variety, while making the Waziri and the rest of the Council the effective administration of the state. Thus the interpretation is in line with European policy. Perhaps the power situation only looks this way and is in reality quite different. This much can be said: high placed Bornu officials agreed with this trend and for rational reasons. They argued that the state functions were becoming extremely complicated, and that only trained, worldly men, who understood not only Bornu, but Bornu in relation to Nigeria, could adequately do the job. The British, however, are inconsistent in their policy, for they feel very strongly about having somebody who can speak English as the next Shehu, while the Kanuri leaders want a particular well loved older man who is known for his view of the monarchy as a ceremonial rather than an authoritative role. If the present Shehu dies (he is 85) before the British leave, the Kanuri may find themselves with a younger, more ambitious Shehu, who will attempt to affect the running of the state. (1)

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647 Bornu Emirate besides having traditional chiefs also has the formal structure of a western civil service. Under the Shehu's Councillors are the various N.A. departments. Under the chairmanship of the Waziri, each Councillor is responsible for one of the N.A. departments whose titles - forestry, sanitation, agriculture, education, public

(1) The British have the power of veto on appointments, so that although the Kanuri may put up names, the British can, by using this

Footnote continues on p. 258

645 works, etc., - are distinctly western. The Councillors work under the
647 advice of the Provincial Government Department, i.e. the Colonial gov-
[631] ernment, whose top personnel are Europeans.

647 The personnel in the N.A. departments form what has come to
571 be called a new class in the society - the new mallams. They wear wrist
watches, read vernacular newspapers, listen avidly to the radio, go to
political meetings, join civil service associations, and think of them-
selves as urban, even when they are stationed in the bush. For the
most part they have obtained their jobs as a result of some exposure to
western education. The separateness of this "class" from the traditional
society is often claimed by British officials some of whom see in this
group the foundation of a new ruling elite whose membership will be
[555] based on western education and outlook. That western education is a
new means of upward mobility is undeniable, but the separateness of the
new mallams in the N.A. departments from their traditional society and
its values is open to doubt. This point can be illustrated by looking
at some of the informal rather than formal rules of behaviour operating
in the N.A.

647 Recruitment into the N.A. can be by application to the She-
hu's Council or the relevant Department, in writing. No informants in
[873] the N.A. had heard of this method ever being used. Another way of re-
cruiting personnel is to obtain the new civil servants from among the
Secondary School boys of Maiduguri. Teachers in the Secondary School
[557] remark that this method is being used more often as time goes on. How-
ever, the most often utilized method of recruitment to the N.A. is a

643 power, make the final decision if they wish. Stalemates are settled by
648 the Governor of the Northern Region. The Resident officer of Bornu was
adamant in his opposition to the Kanuri's own choice for Shehu-elect
in his conversations with the writer on this topic.

647 traditional one. One of the senior members of an individual's agnatic
557 group arranges an audience with some person connected to an N.A. department. One informant in the N.A. commented on recruitment in the following manner.

If you want a job in the Treasury, one of your relatives (a senior male agnate) will find out, if he does not already know, the name of some person who is known to "help" people and go to greet him some night. Your relative will give him some money and he will say that you must come back the next day and he will tell you. Then he will find you a job in the Department, probably by using some of the money your relative gave him, and then the job is yours, and you are in the N.A. . . . Sometimes it takes a long time.

647 Because of the constant shifts in personnel, some to higher positions, others because of dismissals or jail terms, there is much unpredictability of job tenure in the N.A. and suspicion of unworthodox

647 behaviour is a common rule. Thus one junior N.A. official remarked
576 that he must be careful in his department to always dress less well

than his superiors, or it would be considered ro kura (ambitious, proud), and therefore threatening. On the other hand, he must not dress too poorly or his superiors will consider him a wastrel, who

647 spends his money on women, praise-singers, and drink. Again, it is extremely difficult to transfer (through own effort) from one branch of the service to another. To transfer, a formal application must be made to the person's own department heads and N.A. council; if a release is granted, then a further application to the desired department

[829] can be submitted. To the Kanuri such a transfer is not considered a re-jection of the work, but of the people in the department. Thus informants claimed that they would be considered ingrates and trouble-
[662] makers if they were ever to attempt such a thing. Transfers, if they are to be accomplished at all, must be done through relatives and friends "visiting at night", i.e. paying tribute to the appropriate

647 people higher up in the N.A. organization. It might also be achieved
662 by using factional membership if this membership group was powerful enough.

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[557] Advancement in the N.A. is a combination of education, and diplomatic skill at Kanuri interpersonal relations, plus the status of one's agnatic group in the factional segments of the state. Western education, unless it is of a University caliber, is not enough, especially when those higher up in the N.A. are often less well educated than some of the personnel lower down who have come through an expanded educational program that was not available to many of the older generation.

On the surface, the N.A. looks like a western civil service. There are offices, typewriters, clerks, officials, expense
647 vouchers, memoranda, telephones, employee organizations, etc. However,
571 within the N.A. it is soon observed that Kanuri patterns of association are still highly determinative of the methods of behaving. "Big men" in the N.A. have their large extended household organizations of followers and kinsmen, and establishment of loyalty and subservience to superiors in the N.A. itself through the granting of socio-economic rewards still operates. This is why N.A. officials stationed in the Districts are unstable elements in the District organization of the D.H. Their loyalties must be towards their department organization or
[641] they may find themselves in trouble. Finally it should be understood that the idea of loyalty to an ideal of public service, rather than to particular individuals is a foreign concept that has no place in traditional Kanuri society and its norms of conduct.

Discipline in the N.A. reflects the operation of Kanuri

647 Discipline in the N.A. reflects the operation 261.
661 of Kanuri

values and their instrumentation by European standards. For not being loyal, subservient and profitable as a subordinate in the N.A., a man can be punished by adverse reports which refer to his incompetence, his laziness, his dishonesty, or some particular bungle on his part. The [183] formal reason given for disciplinary action is derived always from the European standards of public service morality, and the real reason generally has to do with superior/subordinate relationships within the N.A. Thus the cause given by local gossip in Bornu for the "purge" of N.A. officials which took place in 1956, all have to do with relations between superiors and subordinates. One explanation deals with the jealousy and rivalry between the Treasurer and the Assistant Treasurer, the other and more widely told story alludes to the difficulties between the Bornu Treasurer and the Wakil (chief follower) of his extended household organization. None of the local rumours attributed the cause of the trials (which led to many jail sentences and dismissals) to the fact of corruption in the civil service. Since British [671] public service morality has been written into law in Nigeria, this method of discipline and pressure, although more easily invoked in the colonial situation, because of the arousable indignation of the local British officers will undoubtedly endure after the country obtains its independence.

Political Parties

665. In contemporary Bornu modern political parties link Bornu to the Northern Region and the Federal Union of Nigeria. Constituted authority, the DH's, Lawans, the judges, the higher officials of the N.A. and all their followers support the N.P.C. (Northern Peoples Congress) which represents similar interests in other provinces of the North. It also forms the majority party in the Nigerian Federal gov-

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ernment, which means that several Kanuri have been Ministers in the Federal cabinet. Several days a week public meetings are held in various parts of Maiduguri under the green flag of the N.P.C. Followers of the "big men" make long speeches to the assembled crowds, while political leaders, N.A. officials, the DH of Maiduguri, and several Lawans from the main segments of the city sit on chairs near the center of activities, often nodding their approval. Sometimes, although not often, these leaders speak themselves. However, it is more in keeping with Kanuri culture that the actual work, the talking, which in this case is usually a loud harangue against the opposition party, should be done by followers and professionals who specialize in such speeches.

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The overall effect of an N.P.C. meeting is one of traditional and constituted authority. The N.A. officials and the traditional leaders always appear to support the movement. Thus a vote against this party not only means that a different party is being supported, it means that the person is turning against the traditional political structure of the society, and by inference the moral order which holds it together. This last point is particularly evident in the political speeches of N.P.C. The listeners are constantly and almost entirely confronted not with a political platform, but with a moral decision; the opposition party is represented as being against the chiefs, and to the existing order of society. It is argued they are opposed to children obeying their parents. Stories are told of opposition members whose parents support the chiefs, but who have run away and rejected their parents. These are now vagrants - with no families, no proper place in the society, who have little responsible connection to the social and moral life of the community. It is prophesied that morality and family life as now known would be destroyed by the opposition, who

665 it is well known encourage women to join the organisation and come
641 to its meetings just like men. Finally it is always pointed out that
[186] the opposition is linked to the southern Ibo party, and that a vote
for such a group, even though the local members profess Islam, is a
vote against religion, and for the despised pagans.

665 In the N.A. it is an unwritten law that everyone should sup-
647 port the N.P.C., or at least not actively oppose it. Without exception,
all informants in the N.A. felt that they would lose their jobs if they
were to give even a hint of support to the opposition party. It is
furthermore believed that the British favour the N.P.C. and discriminate
[648] against the opposition party. This view is corroborated for people by
some of the British administrative officers who, because of their long
association with the N.A. and the traditional power groups, are easily
convinced by the N.A. officials that the opposition party is composed
of malcontents and agitators who may cause trouble, the anathema of
the colonial service. The result of all this is a feeling of suppression
among many of the younger N.A. members, who pay lip service to the
N.P.C. but secretly report their support of the opposition party.

665 This opposition party, originally the Bornu Youth League,
now a part of the N.E.P.U. (Northern Elements Progressive Union),⁽¹⁾ is
headed by a renegade Bornu aristocrat, who has a genuine desire to re-
form his country. The party is supported by Ibos, dissidents, and ac-
cultured young people who feel that reforms are necessary in the pol-
itical system. In the party organization itself are many Kanuri who are
behaving in a traditional manner. They consider themselves the ex-
tended household organization of the party leader. Several of them re-
(1) This party is linked to the party of Dr. Asikwe in the Eastern Region.

665 marked that one day their leader would obtain power in Bornu and put them all into traditional offices.

Opposition party meetings, which are well attended, play up the corruption, and abuses of power made by the N.A. and the traditional leaders. European democratic standards of political behaviour are used as criterion for condemning the traditional party and its supporters. Followers are urged to use their votes to bring down from power the officials who take poor peoples' money to buy big cars, fancy houses, trips to Mecca and many wives for themselves. The party is well organised in the big city, but has practically no representation or effect in the rural areas. In the rural communities the Lawan and the DH as well as the local N.A. officials, as the ruling elite, give substance to the leadership of the N.P.C.

Chapter IX

[p 265]

The Economic Life

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For purposes of consumption and production the basic unit among the Kanuri is the household group consisting of a man, his wife or wives, and their children. Since the external and internal social relations of household groups has formed a major part of the study up to this point these data are omitted from the present discussion. This allows us to deal with the "bare bones" of economic activity and to ask questions about the patterns of consumption, production and distribution of goods and services. Where economic activities are set into heretofore unmentioned forms of social organization such as occurs in the distributive sector, then these structures are described and related to the economic activity being analysed.

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For purposes of the present analysis, consumption is operationally equated with all behaviour pertaining to those things acquired through the expenditure of capital resources as these are known to the Kanuri; production refers to those activities from which income is derived in cash and kind, excluding trade; and distribution includes those activities by which the movement of goods and services is accomplished from producers to consumers.

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It should be noted here that this classification is an arbitrary one in terms of Bornu culture. To the Kanuri, consumption comes under the linguistic rubric of awo manyen (things we need), while production and distribution are lumped together as sanya (occupations). Where an individual has two occupations such as farmer and craftsman, or farmer and trader, he most often reports his non-farming activity as his sanya.

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Besides the usual anthropological procedure of participant

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Besides the usual anthropological procedure of participant observation, two other methods were used in obtaining information on economic life in Bornu. Firstly, a sample of seventy-five cultivators, chosen partly by their local political leaders and partly by personal consent, ⁽¹⁾ was observed and questioned by a field assistant on agricultural production, food consumption, livestock and land tenure. The sample was drawn from three towns: Magumeri, Ngubura and Chingowa: each roughly six miles from the other points of a triangle. Farm plots were measured off, dates of planting, weeding and harvesting were recorded, and the produce from one acre of millet and one of groundnuts weighed for each cultivator. As reported by the farmers themselves, and checked by the interviewer, the sample consisted of the following occupational groupings:

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[115]

<u>TABLE X</u>		
<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percentage of Sample</u>
Farmers	25	33.3
Craftsmen #	16	21.3
Traders	17	22.7
Political and Religious Specialists	17	22.7
	75	100.0

Includes 4 "herders" - persons who tend other peoples livestock, mostly sheep and goats, for a fee, as their non-farming specialty.

Secondly, using intensive interviews and observation, the annual budgets of twenty-two household heads were constructed by extrapolating from daily and weekly figures on income and expenditure in cash and kind, as well as reported crop production. ⁽²⁾ No sampling procedures were used in gathering this material, since the traditional method of gaining rapport with informants was a major criterion in

- (1) They were primarily involved in a demonstration of the potential improvement of farm yields with the use of superphosphate fertilizer.
- [114] (2) A similar but more extensive (numerically) method has been used by Smith, M.G., The Economy of Hausa Communities of Zaria, 1955.

(2)
12 in choosing households. An attempt was made, however, to obtain some degree of representativeness of the Bornu rural economy. Thus the budgets range from that of a single young man, just barely supporting himself in food and clothing, to the expenditures (not income) of a District Chief.

128 Before moving on to a detailed analysis of Kanuri production, consumption and distribution, it is necessary to give a brief outline of
592 Kanuri economic activities. The household group is the basic economic unit. This group is a nuclear or polygynous family living sometimes in a compound, at other times forming part of a larger compound. Its economic independence of other units depends upon whether or not it is a part of a larger extended household organization. But whether or not this is the case, the family unit under its male head maintains its own farmland, engages in its own dry season work, owns its own tools, animals, cooks its own food, and is treated as a taxable unit by the local political leaders.

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592 Within the household, women cook, draw water for the household, help on the farm (unless they are in seclusion), raise garden crops in the compound, thresh, pound, and grind grain, sweep and clean the compound, keep chickens and ducks, and engage in petty trade. The major contribution of women to the household is their labour in cooking
[434] and help on the farm. Income derived from the sale of garden produce or the sale of cooked foods are considered to belong to the woman herself.

- [114] (1) For experimental validation of the reliability of this method see:
(a) Honigman, J. and I. Sampling Reliability in Ethnological Field Work, SJA, Vol. 11, (1955) pp. 282-287.
(b) Honigman, J.J. and Carrera, R., Another Experiment in Sample Reliability, SJA, Vol. 13, (1957) pp. 99-102.

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Men rule, farm, dye, build, work metals, skin, tan and work leather, slay and handle cattle and small livestock, tailor, embroider, make hats, musical instruments, trade, weave mats, and work as labourers. They are also religious specialists, carpenters, mechanics, [463] [177] clerks, civil servants and a host of newly introduced jobs of European origin, as well as being the taxpayers. It is no exaggeration to say 562 592 that the economy is controlled by men. The male head of the household dispenses all income in cash and kind resulting from farming and craft work. (Women's gardens are not farms but small plots inside the compound). The male doles out money to his wives for petty market buying and does the major purchases of food grains and clothing himself. He also pays for ceremonies, transportation and most of the gift-giving 562 323 done by himself and the members of his household. Except for pottery production by female specialists, men control all income producing craft work in the society as well as all the major distributive functions.

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Almost all rural household heads own some land in or near their hamlet or village. Land ownership results from a combination of usufruct and inheritance rights and is related as well to the local political organization. These factors are discussed in more detail in the section below on operating costs. Many urban people obtain rural farms from relatives in the bush or retain plots of land in rural areas after having moved to the city. This latter group sends out either relatives or labourers to work the land. In some cases the household head moves out from the city to bush for the necessary working period required to tend the farm.

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Rural peasants work their own land. The men clear the land and are helped in the planting, hoeing and reaping by their wives, and/ 000 or other compound members. Another source of labour is the serwa (co-

476 Another source of labour is the serwa (co-operative work group). This is composed of a group of relatives, friends, and neighbours, not necessarily of the same age group. They help one another to farm, fix or build houses, repair compound walls and other jobs requiring collective effort. These serwa are easily joined and as easily left and may have a long or short life depending upon the interest of the members in obtaining such a labour source.

241 For the upper classes and urban farm owners, labourers (usually pagan)
464 are always available during the growing season. Many of these are local pagans living in Bornu, others are migrant labourers who have come to Bornu during the growing season to obtain their cash income for taxes.
(1)

251 When the crop is harvested, food grains are taken from their stalks and stored in underground pits. Although the Kanuri utilize some aboveground storage shelters, underground storage is more widespread.

43 The cash crop (groundnuts) is sold to middlemen (sent to the bush during the harvest season to buy for traders in the city). Surplus producers of food crops store their harvest and visit markets for the rest of the year selling their produce. In Magumeri, two-thirds of the cultivators questioned in the survey were only semi-subsistence farmers. Part but not all of this is made up of income from the cash crop. Thus most people who farm have some other income-producing activity which makes up for the fact that they do not grow enough food or cash crop to maintain themselves for an entire year.

463 Craft production includes such occupations as butcher, black-
829 smith, potter, entertainer, leather worker, native doctor, hunter, dyer, lorry driver, mechanic, bricklayer. This is the Kanuri way of viewing

(1) See Kirke-Greene, A.H.M., Tax and Travel Among the Hill-Tribes of Northern Adamawa, Africa, Vol. 26, No. 4 (1956) pp. 355-369.

463 crafts, that is to lump services such as native doctor with manufac-
829 turing such as pottery making. Recruitment into a craft is carried on
874 by an apprenticeship system. In return for learning the craft, the
apprentice serves his senior and gives him some or all of his earnings
874 during the training period. New occupations such as carpenter or lorry
178 driver, which do not require literacy, have utilized the apprentice sys-
tem of recruitment. On the other hand, in western jobs requiring liter-
acy and other kinds of schooling the apprentice system is at a minimum.

467 Traditional craft workers in Bornu are organized by occupa-
tion under head men in each village area and each city. Today the Mai-
duguri head of a craft has the highest status of local craft heads in
Bornu, but his few privileges hardly extend beyond the capital. Never-
theless, rural heads of crafts who visit Maiduguri should still render
nona (pay their respects) to the Maiduguri head of their sanya (occupa-
tion). Informants everywhere agreed that not only local craft heads
but all craft members should do the same, although this latter pre-
scription seems to be more honoured in the breach. Local heads all over
Bornu do, however, have some special privileges. Thus in the larger
centres of Maiduguri, Geidam, Nguru, and Gashua, the head butcher has
one day a week (not the traditional market day) on which his meat alone
is sold. In Magumeri, the head butcher gets a small commission on all
skins sold by Magumeri butchers to the hides and skins buyers.

433 The household group in Bornu cannot produce all the things
438 it requires in its consumption patterns. The needs of a specialized and
semi-specialized population are satisfied through the operation of a
highly organized system of interlocking market cycles. This system is
described in detail in the section on trade.

Production433
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Kanuri production is tied to two inter-related factors in the physical and social environment of Bornu. These are first the geographical and ecological characteristics of the area, and secondly the differentiation of production into agricultural and non-agricultural pursuits.

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The Chad basin has a short rainy season running from June to September and crop production is carried during these months. Planting begins about the time of the first rains and the first hoeing takes place shortly afterward. The second hoeing occurs near the end of the rainy season and harvesting is carried out from the beginning of October to the end of November. Each hoeing requires between two to three weeks' work and harvesting may take as long as a month. Between these periods, beyond occasional scrutiny to see that straying cattle have not broken into and eaten the produce, very little work is required in cultivating crops. Thus work on crop production is concentrated into less than six months, leaving the rest of the year free for other activities.

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In Magumeri village area, one-third of the cultivators reported that they did nothing else but farm. Only a few of these have surpluses to sell. The remaining two-thirds of the cultivators are semi-subsistence producers who acquire the remainder of their income from some non-agricultural activity. All cultivators, however, raise some cash crop. The subsistence balance in the area as a whole is maintained by small pockets of intensive surplus producers scattered throughout the entire region. These people are, by family tradition, farmers. They generally have good farm soil, with larger and more numerous holdings per person and their dry season activity consists of marketing

24/ their surplus crop at the local markets.

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Although not exact, because of the exclusion of non-cultivators from the sample, some measure of the variation in crop production is shown in the following table of average productivity among the cultivators of the farm survey.

TABLE XI

Table of Average (calculated) Yields for Seventy-five Cultivators

Occupation	Millet (bags, threshed)§	Groundnuts (bags, decorticated)¶
Farmers	22	9
Craftsmen	17	5
Traders	7	4
Political and Religious Specialists	5	2

§ One bag of threshed millet, average weight - 190 lbs.

¶ One bag of decorticated groundnuts, average weight - 200 lbs.

Increases or decreases in production from previous years were reported by 24 (32%) of the 75 cultivators. The following are the reasons given for this variation:

TABLE XII

	N
1) Increase or decrease in number of wives	8
2) Other activities interrupted farm work during the growing and harvest season	7
3) Sickness	6
4) More help in the compound (male)	1
5) Soil depleted	1
6) Damage by smut	1
Total:	24

Thus increase or decrease in number of wives, non-farming activities, and sickness during the growing season seem to be the large-

- [128] (1) These figures are constructed from the acreage of each farmer, multiplied by the average yield per acre in the sample. Reported yield figures on millet (not groundnuts) were so at variance with calculated yield that their reliability is extremely questionable. This may not be due entirely to deliberate falsification by respondents, since they were asked to estimate yields in bags, whereas for the most part this crop is stored in large underground pits, or above-ground storage shelters.

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est factors affecting crop fluctuations from year to year. The seven cases of loss in crop which resulted from inattention to farm work because of other activities, refer mainly to economic pursuits, especially retail and wholesale trade, which took the man away from his household during the growing season. The one exception to this rule was a man who had been to Maiduguri with his family in order to fight a court case.

The table on occupation and crop production reveals the pattern of crop production among the various groups in the community. The increases and decreases in production give some measure of the amount of variation that may be expected from year to year. What follows is a discussion of the factors that affect this variation.

[164]

[136]

The growing season is also a time of general biological increase in Bornu. The rain not only brings the blessing of fertility to the land, it also initiates a period of increased malaria, guinea worm and other plant and animal infestations, as well as the arrival of cattle nomads whose herds may stray into a cultivator's plots, and periodic herds of locusts. These factors may at any time reduce a farmer's yield and add a constant element of uncertainty to his life. It is no wonder that prayers, charms, and divinatory practices are utilized in combination with the more "rational" agricultural techniques.

The amount of land under cultivation, and its location close to, or far away, from the settlement varies with the kind of primary occupational interest of the farm owner. This is easily seen in the table of average yields above, in which farmers and craftsmen have much larger yields than traders or religious and political specialists. These figures point up the fact that in Bornu a man's non-farming activities especially if they are in trade, politics or religion, tend to impinge

241 upon his farm production. One cultivator, a subordinate of the Dis-
 433 trict Head, illustrated this point when he remarked that he had been
 given some good land by his superior. He told how his tax collection
 duties which took him away during the rainy season had severely lim-
 [571] ited his ability to farm. Furthermore, as a comparative newcomer to
 the town, and a supporter of such a politically powerful man as the DH
 he was not welcome in a co-operative work group, and had no subordinates
 or kinsmen in his own compound to care for the crops in his absence.

241 The number of wives a cultivator has available for work is
 464 a major factor in crop production. The high divorce rate makes this
 [586] primary source of labour unpredictable for each farmer from year to
 [571] year. Numbers and nature of barsum subordinates again help determine
 (1) the labour supply. If a man has many followers, his labour source is
 large and secure; if he has few or none, his labour problem is a limit-
 [476] ing one in crop production. Membership in a co-operative work group
 (serwa) may, however, help to alleviate labour problems for some, and
 about 60% of the farmers and craftsmen and 35% of the trader and politi-
 cal and religious specialists, use this source of supply. Finally, for
 (2) those who can afford wage labour, at a price per crop, or on daily sal-
 aries, such is generally available in all but the smallest towns of Bornu.

[434] The difficulty is that most peasant households are numerical-
 241 ly small, and have little liquid capital. This limits the secure avail-
 464 ability of labour to those with stable marriage relations, or to those
 571 with long and fruitful social relations in one place, i.e. kinship ties
 or working barsum relationships with others in the same locality are

(1) See Cohen, R., Marriage Instability and its Determinants Among the Kanuri of Northern Nigeria, (1958) (unpublished).

(2) See below p. 305.

241 the surest safeguards against labour shortages due to sudden (and com-
 464 mon) divorces. This is the reason why people with longer associations
 571 in one place, and stronger ties of kinship in the community are less
 vulnerable economically to the high divorce rate than newcomers, or
 those with their primary social ties outside Magumeri. The exception
 to this generalization is, of course, the upper class who can either
 afford to use wage labour, or utilize the subservience of followers.

433 Variations in price bring about fluctuations in farming
 435 activities. A higher price of millet one year induces a somewhat great-
 er interest by rural and urban dwellers in the production of food grains.
 On the other hand, an increase by Government of groundnut prices paid
 to producers causes greater interest and some increase in acreage de-
 voted to cash cropping. Several city dwellers who had not farmed for
 periods of two to six years told the writer that they were either going
 to go themselves, or send a subordinate, to the bush the following year
 to raise millet, because the 1956-57 price had risen as high as 39/-
 to 41/- per bag.

433 Besides this year to year fluctuation, there has been a
 435 steady rise in the Bornu economy over the past two decades. From 1938
 458 (1)
 to 1957 the prices in millet and groundnuts have been as follows:

TABLE XIII

	Millet (to consumer) shillings per bag	Groundnuts pounds per ton to producer
1938	15	5
1957	30	33
Percentage increase	100%	7%

♠ Maiduguri market (average)

♠ General price for Bornu

[114] (1) Figures for 1938 taken from Economic Assessment Report (1938), file #3014, Bornu Provincial Government Office, Maiduguri. General prices for 1957 are taken from observations in the Maiduguri, Gaidam, Damaturu and Magumeri markets.

43
458 These figures show the spectacular rise in cash income which the Kanuri have enjoyed in the past two decades, and it is this fact basically, rather than increased productivity, which has accounted (1) for the widespread innovations of industrially produced import goods.

433
571 Crop production is also affected by the lability of inter-personal relations. If it is personally profitable for an individual to become the subordinate of someone else, then he may leave his farm work in order to enter the service of his new superior. Many individuals (especially young men) suggested to the writer that if he would take them on as tada njima (sons of the house, pseudo sons) and give them money to trade, they would go anywhere in Bornu, whether or not they had crops growing at the time. Of course, if they had other sources of labour besides their own, then their crops would not be affected by their absence, but such considerations did not seem to be important to them.

433
55 Finally, it should be realized that it is part of both the traditional and contemporary Kanuri conception of upward mobility that personal advancement is not to be found in farming. Achievement in Bornu is rather a function of profitable social relations and, more recently, western education. As social and cultural change proceeds, 433
369 and progressively more full-time employment in the larger towns develops the urban growth and the attractions of the city for the peasant cultivator forms a continual pull on the rural population, and, therefore, on crop production. At present the rapid urban growth has not been felt as forcibly as it might be because of the large numbers of city dwellers who still maintain and work rural farms during the growing

season.
(1) Cf. Winter, E.H., Swamba Economy, East African Studies, No. 5, (1955), especially pp. 41-44.

000 season.

Craft Production

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The outline given at the beginning of the chapter has indicated the general organisation of crafts in Bornu. Each village having several of the same variety of craftsmen has a ward devoted to this craft under a headman. Thus Magumeri Village has a ward for butchers, dyers, potters, makers of millet beer, string makers, and calabash makers. Goods produced by crafts not present in Magumeri are obtained [443] through the market. In analytical terms the Kanuri craft industry is 433 characterised by its simple technology, its cottage industry social structure and its relation to outside competition.

Only the simplest tools are needed to produce almost everything made in Bornu and the materials for these can be obtained locally. Methods of production are slow and laborious. Thus a blacksmith makes about three to five hoes per day and a dyer colours only five or six robes on a busy day. Again a potter's weekly production runs from ten [177] to twenty pots, depending upon the size. The chief exceptions to this [294] are the Singer sewing machines, used universally by tailors to make [402] clothes, and the few milling machines used in Maiduguri.

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[602]

Craft production is carried on in small groups and almost [602] always inside the household of the craft worker. Sometimes a group of craftsmen work together in their ward, especially when they are agnatic kinmen. However, each owns the result of his own labour. A man's day in craft work is spent within the confines of his own household or closeby in the house of a neighbour who practises the same craft. Thus the locus of craft work, family life, and often male agnates are all the [294] same. In one exceptional case in Magumeri, a cloth seller has invested in three Singer sewing machines and has tada njima who tailor for others

438 and also produce "ready-to-wear" clothes for the market. He gives them
294 a place to sleep, their food, clothing, and spending money and keeps
the return on their labour. They each hope one day to have machines of
their own.

439 Unlike food production, Bornu crafts have never been totally
self-sufficient. There has always been an import trade which brought
into the State either raw materials, e.g. iron for the blacksmiths, or
finished products like paper, textiles, or glass beads from beyond Bornu.
Furthermore, there has always been competition between locally manufact-
ured articles and those from other places in the region of the western
Sudan and elsewhere. Trade between Kano and Bornu has made the Kanuri
knife an accepted part of Kano's material culture, while leather work

438 from Kano can be seen all over Bornu. On a more local level, in the
Magumeri market, craft work from other centres almost always finds its

178 way into the local market to compete with locally produced items. In
[438] recent years this competition has resulted in the practical oblitera-
tion of the indigenous production of cloth, because of the universal

[49] adoption of imported textiles. Donkeys and camels decline as media of
transport as a direct function of the establishment of roads and regu-

[256] lar lorry routes. If milling of grain by machine spreads, then the man-

[322] ufacture of wooden mortars and pestles to pound grain decreases accord-

[463] ingly. But this is not a one-sided affair. Cultural and social change
bring new "crafts" such as motor mechanics, carpentry, lorry driving,
commishams (commission men), who collect the fees for the lorry drivers
at the various stations.

434 The following table shows the degree to which craft workers
and other occupational groups depend upon non-agricultural activities
for their annual income in cash and kind.

TABLE XIV

Table of Average Non-agricultural Income for 75 Cultivators

Occupation	Annual income from non-agricultural pursuits (pounds sterling)	% of total annual income in cash and kind
Farmers	0	0
Craftsmen	31	43
Traders	44	67
Political and Religious Specialists	55	84

[128] # These annual figures are constructed from estimates made by each respondent in answer to questions concerning his earnings per week, (a) in the dry season, (b) in the wet season. The percentages are calculated by adding the figures in this table to those obtained for crop production after converting crop figures to cash values.

Increase or decreases in income from non-agricultural pursuits were reported by 26 (34%) of the sample. The reasons given for such changes are shown below.

TABLE XV

loss or gain of <u>tada njima</u> per household	16
sickness	3
better or worse income from membership in an extended household organization	2
loss or gain in wives	2
raise in salary (N.A.).	1
a new wholesale source or loss of an old one	3

26

The table on income indicates what degree of specialization

away from sedentary agriculture various segments of the Kanuri population have achieved. Craft workers, it should be noted, are slightly more dependent upon agriculture than craft work, while trader, political and religious specialists are much more dependent upon non-agricultural activities for their incomes. This means that the crop producers

434 in Bornu are made up primarily of full time farmers and semi-subsistence
463 farmers who practise craft work as well.

434 Sixty per cent of the changes in income reported are the
571 result of the acquisition or loss of tada njima. Apprentices are included in this category since they are subordinate to the household head. Thus the number of subordinates in a Kanuri household is a primary correlate of its economic rise or decline. Other reasons given are

434 fairly self-evident. Loss or gain in wives is much less a factor in
595 non-agricultural income. The only exceptions to this rule are the husbands of some (not all) potters whose wives give them a weekly cash income from the sale of pots: In the two cases listed above, both men report that an extra wife has freed them from some agricultural duties thus giving them more time for trade in one case, and craft work

434 in the other. In the two cases of income change due to membership in
571 an extended household organization, both these men are subordinate members of a Lawan's extended household. The loss or gain of new wholesale sources is treated in more detail in the discussion below on trade.

433 The following cases, taken from two of the budgets of Kanuri craft workers, illustrate the scale of production in rural Bornu which has been described above.

Ka'anami, the calabash maker

592 Ka'anami lives in a compound with four other people: his wife and infant daughter, his full younger brother, and his father's sister, an old woman. The compound, although fully enclosed, is next door to and opens into the compound of Ka'anami's father. Dolo, the younger brother, grows a cash crop and makes a few calabashes from time to time. The old woman, Paluatta, makes pots and cooks her own food. Dolo eats with his older brother, his father, or is given food by the old woman.

592 The net effect, productively, seems to be one of disunity since there are really three economic units within the one household. Cohesion is due to kinship and should trouble arise, legal, economic, or political, the unity within this compound, and with the others around it, to which its members are agnatically related, are observable immediately. Even the economic disunity is only partial, since Dolo often helps his older brother at the market, and both do farm work and run messages for their father.

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[423] Ka'anami has a bush farm to the south of Magumeri village and three small plots in the nearby hamlet of Falongo where he used to live. His wife helps him to plant, hoe, and harvest the crop, as do [435] his brothers. In 1955 he harvested twelve bags of millet (cash value [432] £30/0/0) and four bags of groundnuts (cash value £11/0/0). Thus his [251] agricultural production totalled £41/0/0, one-quarter of which he sold for cash, and three-quarters of which he stored for consumption.

322 Many (but not all) of the men in Ka'anami's agnatic kinship group are calabash makers. This consists of buying dried, raw, half gourds, scraping the insides smooth, and carving designs on the [412] outer surface with hot irons. The tools are simple, wood-handled iron [372] blades, obtained from the blacksmith, and the only other material necessary is charcoal for the fire, which is extremely cheap.

322
433 During the dry season, Ka'anami makes on the average two
443 calabashes per day on Fridays and Saturdays, and this ranges from one to three, or on the average about four per week. Sunday he attends the Magumeri market and sells his wares. He buys his raw calabashes from the Thursday market (Ngubura) and does not work much on Monday, Tuesday or Wednesday, except to do commissions for people who give him special orders. He may also attend nearby markets on Monday or Tuesday

443 if he has not sold all his wares at the Magumeri Sunday market. This
322 works out to approximately sixteen calabashes per month which he pro-
433 duces for market sales. By questioning and observation, it was calculated that he gets private orders for another fifteen, making a total of thirty-one calabashes per month. During four months of the wet season, he does not produce for the market at all, but takes private orders which he estimates at twenty a month. Using these figures, his yearly production of calabashes comes to two hundred and ninety-seven.

435 The raw material costs him one shilling per calabash (cost of charcoal is negligible) and his selling price runs from $3/3$ to $5/-$ or about $4/$ on the average. This gives him a net profit of about $3/-$
434 per unit product. Thus his yearly returns on his craft work bring him a cash income of approximately £45.0.0.; when this is added to his crop production Ka'anami's annual income in cash and kind can be placed at £86.0.0.

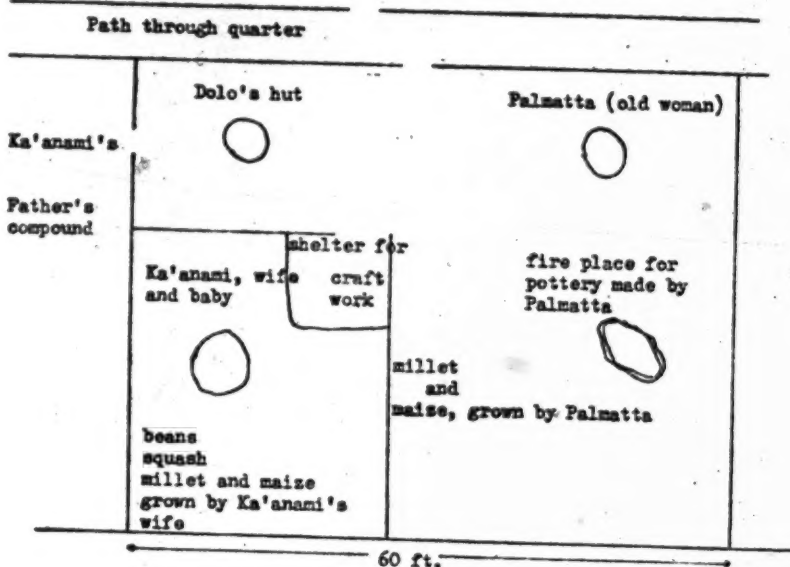
461 The work pattern described here is not a strenuous one. Besides his farmwork, Ka'anami could no doubt produce more calabashes if he worked more rapidly and for longer hours. However, to obtain his living in Bornu at present this is not necessary. Ka'anami likes his present life. He enjoys sitting in an entrance hut in his own quarter of town, with friends and relatives, talking, joking, gossiping and moralising about rural events. Indeed, a casual, rather than a careful look into his life, might easily persuade the observer that Ka'anami spends all his time sitting around in the shade talking and listening to friends and relatives. When working, he often sits around a common fire with other calabash makers, talking, or singing softly with his fellow craftsmen (most of whom are his agnatic relatives). Even when working alone, friends come and chat with him as he carves the designs

461 on the grounds. Thus his social life and craft production are inextricably interwoven. This is the human side of cottage industry. Wife, relatives, children and friends, all are intermeshed in the social context of his economic activity.

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415 When steel enamel ware and other receptacles, mass produced in the factories of industrialized countries, are used by wider numbers of people, for more and more purposes, and appear at progressively competitive prices, Ka'anami and those like him will come face to face with the modern world.

592 Ka'anami's Compound

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231 Mala Bukar, the butcher

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The butcher's craft, although comparatively lucrative, is a low status occupation. It requires technical skills and social relations beyond the tribe. Manual and anatomical knowledge of butchery is learned during the apprenticeship period, often referred to as "taking up the knife". The craft also requires continuous relations [43.9] with cattle owners, who supply the raw material for the work. Since cows are primarily kept by Fulani and Shuwa nomads, this requires inter-tribal relations for the butcher with the cattle people. Sheep and goats are kept locally and sold generally by their keepers to one of the several local butchers.

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Mala Bukar lives with his two wives, the younger of whom has a small child, aged about three, and two tada njima (sons of the house, in this case, apprentices). There are five huts in the compound, one each for the wives, one for himself, one for the two apprentices, and [43.9] one for meat storage. The apprentices are both sons of butchers unrelated but known to Mala Bukar. They explained that they wished to travel about the country before they settled down in their home towns as butchers. One seemed much surer of returning eventually to his [231] father's household than the other. They treat Mala Bukar with as much respect as they would a real biological father, but seem to have a somewhat more open discussion with him of their sexual life than sons who live at home.

423

Mala Bukar has inherited some farmland with the kulo fatobe area (the near or house farm area). He also has a plot farther out in [241] the kulo karabe area (far or bush farm area). In addition, his apprentices are clearing (1956) a new plot in the bush farm area which is to replace a depleted one next year. The apprentices are also clearing

241 small plots of their own at the same time on which they hope to grow cash crops. In 1955, Mala Bukar obtained ten bags of millet and three of groundnuts. Cash value of this crop at prevailing prices is £20.0.0.

241
592 Mala Bukar does no actual farm work himself. His apprentices and wives (never working together at the same time and place, plant, hoe and harvest his crop. He does give some directions at the beginning of these operations and he decides on the planting and harvesting dates. The apprentices make the farm work of the wives less essential in this case than is usual. This gives these women a great deal more free time, especially in the wet season, than almost any other married women in town, with the exception of the head dyer's wives. This man also has several apprentices. Mala Bukar's wives spend their productive energies in cooking, bringing water for the household, and selling the hooves of slaughtered animals which their husband gives them as a source of private income for themselves.

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463 Since Mala Mukar's work schedule is tied to the availability of animals for slaughter, it appears at first glance to have a random quality. Exceptions to this are his rigid adherence to Friday as a day of prayer, or at least, no slaughter, and Sunday which is the Magumeri market day. However, he may butcher a sheep or a goat on the spot on Sunday if the selling is brisk and animals are to be had. Trips to other markets in the vicinity are dependent upon his immediate stocks of meat, and upon what he hears about demand at other markets.

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434 For six months of the year he deals only in sheep and goats (this is not true of butchers at larger centres, where many people can afford beef). One goat costs from 31/- to 40/- and he prepares and sells on the average four per week, at a profit of 2/- to 4/- each, i.e. an average profit of 3/- each or 12/- per week. Sheep cost him usually

231 from 20/- to 30/-, and he claimed that his return on a sheep was the
463 same as that on a goat. Since he sells about two of these per week
435 during the dry season, we can estimate his sheep profit at 6/- per
434 week. Thus for the six months of the year when the nomads are not in
the Magumeri vicinity, Mala Bukar gets a cash income from meat sales
of approximately 18/- per week (£23.0.0.).

When selling the hides of these animals, he received 1/6d.
to 2/- per goat hides and 2/- to 4/- for a sheep skin. Using the above
figures and taking median prices, we can calculate an additional in-
come of £12.0.0. for this period.

For the other six months, around the rainy season, when
the cattle nomads come north, he kills very few sheep and goats, but
butchers about four to six cows per week at a profit of 10/- to 12/-
per cow. Taking median values this gives him an approximate income
from this activity of £71.0.0. The hides from this work bring between
4/- and 7/6d. per skin and Mala Bukar felt that 5/6d. was the price
he most often received. This gives an approximate income of £36.0.0.
for cowhide per year. He also received about 1/- per week "commission"
because of his role as head butcher, from the sale of hides belonging
to other Magumeri butchers (i.e. £3.0.0. per year). This estimation
of Mala Bukar's annual craft work puts its total value to him at about
£167.0.0.

434 However, he does not actually take in all this income as
[452] cash earnings. Many people take meat from him on credit, and others
come round when he is killing an animal and beg some gratis. He com-
plained of this loss and asked the writer repeatedly to take it into
account when calculating annual sales and profits. He felt that if he
could have in cash value the amount of meat he was not paid for, either

434 through bad debts or begging then, as he said, 10/- would be like 12/-, or perhaps as much as 14/- (he rejected 15/- as too high, 11/- as too low). That is to say, about 30% of his craft income from meat sales is lost through bad debts and the nature of Kanuri social relations, wherein property differentials are noticed, and giving of property by its owner validates the differential. Because Mala Bukar is a relatively well-off man (for Magumeri) he must, unless he wishes to be considered miserly, mean and unsociable, give away some of his wealth in order to maintain the status he has achieved through its possession.

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Consumption

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In order to obtain a comparative index of living standards for the Kanuri in terms of western measures, the consumption data in the following section are translated into money values calculated on the basis of the average household size in the sample survey of cultivators. Although this translation into western equivalents is a constructed figure, it gives a more precise definition to consumption practices than a merely qualitative description.

Food

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For the peasant population, meals are customarily taken twice a day. A man, his sons past puberty, other male compound members, and possibly other male neighbours eat once in the morning, usually between 8 and 9 a.m. (lashi) and once in the evening again between 8 and 9 p.m. (bulta). Young children may or may not eat with the male head, but usually do so if he is alone. The two main meals consist of millet flour (*penisetum typhoideum*) made into porridge or dumplings (*buri argumbe*) over which soup is poured, containing vegetables, fish or meat, groundnut-oil, and salt, as well as other condiments, especially red peppers. Occasional meals or snacks are taken during markets

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[782] where cooked food is sold, or at ceremonial gatherings when there is generally more meat present in the food, due to the practice of killing a goat or a sheep at almost all periodic religious ceremonies and rites de passage. Rice, wheat, guinea-corn, maize, boiled roots and leaves, squashes, cucumber, tomatoes, okra, groundnuts, milk, chicken, butter, cooked meats, and millet beer brewed by pagans are also periodic but small additions to the normal peasant diet. (1)

S 11

In the survey sample the average amount consumed per day per capita was 1.24 saka (2) with almost the entire range (except for two cases) running from one to one and a half saka per person. Using the saka as roughly 1.6 lbs. of millet (it varies in size during the year) this means that for the most part the rural peasant eats 1.6 to 2.4 [435] lbs. of millet per day with a mean intake of 1.9 lbs. per person. The price of millet in Magumeri (1955-57) varied from 22/- to 20/- per bag (120 saka), but remained for long periods at 25/- per bag. It follows then that for the period 1955-57 the average rural household of 3.9 (from the sample survey) or roughly four persons, required at least twenty-five bags of millet per year or about thirty-one pounds sterling in cash value at the prevailing market prices, as a minimum subsistence amount for their millet needs.

[146] (1) From tests done in other sections of Northern Nigeria, it is estimated that the average peasant diet in the region as a whole, varies between 2400-2900 calories per day, with a general deficiency in proteins and vitamins, see Nicol, B.C., Nutrition in Nigeria, British Journal of Nutrition, Vol. 3 (1943) 25-43.

[804] (2) This was corroborated in the budget data. A saka is a small gourd which is used as the standard measure in buying and selling small quantities of grain, beans and nuts. Four saka equal one darum (a medium-sized calabash); four darum equal one ga (a large calabash), and there are 7.5 to 7.8 ga per buhu or large bag of grain, beans or nuts, i.e. about 120 saka per buhu. Saka of millet were weighed, measured and averaged to obtain English equivalents.

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The expenditure for condiments, vegetables, cooking oil, meat or fish, etc. varies from household to household, for this reflects the individual tastes, and more especially the standard of living of any particular family unit. The lowest reported was 2/6d per week for an unmarried man whose aged mother cooked for him and herself in their small compound, while the highest was £5.5.0 (105/-) given by the District Head to his wife for the meat, fish, rice, chickens, condiments, oil, etc. In about two-thirds of the cases, however, the figures fell between 3/- and 5/- per household per week. If the person had any identification with urban life, as several did who were in Magumeri for the farming season, then this weekly expenditure seemed to be somewhat higher, ranging between 5/- and 9/- per week.

Using 3/- to 5/- as the weekly market money that the rural peasant householder spends on additional necessities for his staple foods (median value of roughly 4/-) an annual minimum for this part of the peasant diet can be set at about £10.0.0 for the average (four person) family. That is to say, the figures from budget interviews in combination with the survey material, give a rough estimate of the minimum amount (measured in cash values) required to keep this constructed "average" household unit in its nutrient requirements at prevailing (1955-57) prices — this is £41 sterling per annum (approximately \$125.00).⁽¹⁾

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Although the consumption of millet porridge is fairly standard for all levels of the population — what goes into the soup, and the scale of differences among other foods eaten, varies with socio-

(1) This does not mean that the average family buys \$125.00 worth of food per year since almost every family grows some part of its nutrient requirements. See above p.272 for the approximate amounts of millet produced by various occupation groups.

262 economic and rural/urban status. In upper class households, food may
262 be taken regularly three, four, or even five times during a day, with
264 a larger variety in the items included. Thus in the household of an
N.A. employee in Magumeri, there are four separate meals in one day,
and sometimes five - (1) early in the morning just after rising, millet
porridge and a plain soup is taken, plus a small course of bblām (milk,
rice or wheat, and sugar); (2) at about nine a.m., a light meal of
bblām, some cooked rice and soup, and/or milk; (3) at twelve noon,
chicken and rice, then (4) at seven p.m., millet porridge. Often a
light meal of chicken and rice or even some fresh vegetables in season
262 is eaten in mid-afternoon. Because of the much richer variety of foods
available from all over Nigeria, as well as the outside world, in tins,
bottles or dehydrated condition, the city diet is more various and
also somewhat more expensive for everyone, except the most indigent,

Clothing

294 The importance of clothing and cloth to the Kanuri is clearly
observable in Bornu. Singer sewing machines (pedal powered) are
everywhere in the area, only the smallest hamlets being, at present,
without them. In Magumeri, there were between six and eight constantly
in use over a seventeen month period. On market day more machines ap-
pear from the city and surrounding towns, in the special tailors en-
44/ closure at the market. When the cash crop is sold to the "scale" men,
there is always a store of cloth kept by these buyers, who know that
the peasant is very likely to purchase some textiles with his cash crop
286 receipt. Although there are very few words in the language for col-
192 ours, different textiles or the same material at different phases of
[521] wear are discriminated. There is a plethora of words denoting the dif-
ferent kinds of materials; and news of new brands, price changes, and

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[192] desirability characteristics take up much of the leisure time discussion among adult men. Cloth or clothing is also an integral part of [521] gift giving at marriages, circumcisions and in maintaining superior/ [431]

[685] subordinate relationships. Thieves, knowing the liquid capital nature of cloth or clothing, always steal these items as well as money, and indeed more often, since it is more common for transportable capital 436 assets to be in the form of cloth or clothing than cash. Cloth was originally a form of currency, i.e. a measure of value, and even today these items are widely used as collateral when cash loans are taken

286 from neighbours or specialist money-lenders. Cloth and clothing as an 291 item of consumption thus has wide ramifications of meaning and desirability as an object of value to the Bornu population, and forms one of the principal expenditures in a Kanuri household.

291

The robes of men and women, their yardage, quality, workmanship, embellishment, and age, reflect structural differences in Kanuri society. Men wear uni-coloured robes or work shirts, and all men have at least one robe for special occasions. Long robes are often worn over a smaller long-sleeved body length shirt, and may or may not be embroidered with various designs, each having its own standard of excellence on an ascending scale reflected in price. Women wear a long-sleeved body length robe over a cloth wrapped around the body from the waist down. Without the robe this wrap-around is pulled up to cover the breasts as well, when outside the compound. To dress up, the wrap-around becomes longer and forms a train, which is carried over the arm, and a long piece of cloth is draped over the shoulders in a sari-like fashion. Women also vary more widely in their tastes, which range from several plain colours worn at once to prints (men very rarely wear prints).

291

In a culture where houses are often extremely similar from person to person, within any one strata of society, clothing tends to give expression to individual tastes and desires. On a broader scale, difference in dress reflects class divisions and higher and lower echelons of the status dimensions discussed in previous chapters, giving cultural support and emphasis to these social distinctions. Thus on a normal work day in Magumeri these differences are readily apparent.

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The actual amount of expenditure for clothing is a function of income and social status and seems to range for many of the peasant population (over two-thirds of the budgets) between three and thirteen pounds sterling per annum for each male household head. If we take £9.0.0. as a rough median value per rural male householder, the calculated rural expenditure for food (£41.0.0) and clothing (£9.0.0) is about £50.0.0 per year, in cash and kind (translated into cash values at local Bormu prices).

[562]

The following table, taken from nineteen of the more reliable budgets, illustrates the relationship between occupation and clothing expenditures, as well as pointing up the fact that most women's clothes are bought by men. The extremes of the table are: (1) a District Head who buys a larger amount and a better quality of clothing as a mark of his high status, as well as giving away many gifts of robes to his followers; (2) a servant of the District Head who buys no clothing at all, since the D.H. supplies him with his needs; (3) a wealthy trader from the city who utilizes clothing expenditures, among other things, to raise his social status commensurate to his recent rise in wealth.

511 Table of Annual Clothing Expenditures of 19 Magumeri Men (in pounds sterling)

Occupation	TABLE XVI		Total
	Male Clothes	Female Clothes	
District Head	150	15	165
Trader (from city)	50	45	95
Head Butcher	27	9	36
Money-lender/farmer	15	5	20
District Scribe (M.A.)	8	6	14
Head of Pagan quarter	4	9	13
Oworongo seller	5	7	12
Butcher	6	3	9
Praise singer	6	2	8
Salt seller	4	3	7
N. A. messenger	2	4	6
Hat maker	2	3	5
Kola-nut seller	2	2	4
Ex-cattle trader	3	0	3
Barber	3	0	3
Blacksmith	0	3	3
District Head's servant	0	0	0

§ All but the Head of the pagan quarter are Kanuri; he is included because of his membership in the total Magumeri society and economy.

Entertainments, Ceremonies, Cosmetics and Stimulants

Besides food and clothing, the next largest category of expenditure in Kanuri households is that having to do with entertainment, ceremonies, cosmetics, and stimulants. Membership in networks of social relations resulting from residence patterns, kinship, and marriage require gift-giving. However, this expenditure is a reciprocal one and informants claim that it balances out in the long run. On the other hand, religious festivals involving special foods, such as wheat and rice, or the killing of a ram require periodic expenditures for all household heads, depending upon their status.

517 In Bornu entertainments encompass such activities as going to dances and praise-singers, tourism and visiting, wrestling matches, leisure talk, gambling, learning and reading the Koran, sexual affairs, going to markets when the individual has nothing to buy or to sell, lie-

517 tating to court cases, horse racing, radio, phonographs, newspapers, political meetings, and cinema shows (in Maiduguri). Some of these items, both traditional and acquired as a result of culture contact, require expenditures. Thus praise-singing which validates status, or even creates it momentarily where it does not exist, may become almost a social narcotic when used by some highly motivated person who wishes to obtain higher status but cannot, and thus buys it in one or two minutes lumps of time from the singers. Again sexual affairs (male speaking) for sheer pleasure can be a costly entertainment, especially if the man seeks variety. Other traditional items, such as gambling (now done with European playing cards), learning to read the Koran, trips to other localities, visiting markets with no practical purpose, may all lead easily to some expenditures. With growing culture contact and westernization we may expect that items such as radios, newspapers, and movies will begin entering family budgets, as they have already done for the urban population.

276 The major traditional stimulants in Bornu are kola-nuts, (273) millet beer and tobacco flowers for women. Kola-nuts are chewed almost universally by both sexes, and form part of leisure time intercourse. It is customary to have nuts at weddings, naming ceremonies and other ritual occasions, which are given out to guests. Generally speaking, expenditures reported by men for kola-nuts were low in comparison to food and clothing. However, in several cases - the District Head, the head butcher, a kola-nut retailer, a city trader, an N.A. messenger, an ex-cattle trader now a farmer, and a hides and skins trader, the calculated annual expense approached or equalled clothing expenditures. Women colour their teeth with aworongo (*Salonacea Incanum*) and chew tobacco flowers and kola-nuts, but generally obtain the income for

276 this expenditure from both their own productive activities as well as
302
511 the husband's allowance. Pagan millet beer, distilled millet liquor,
273 and European beer and spirits are widely consumed. Except for the
[511] District Head, who averaged £3.0.0 to £5.0.0 per month for liquor,
little is known of this expenditure. It appears that it is a more wide-
spread practice in larger centres and among the younger generation of
Kanuri. Indeed it is rare to see an elderly person taking liquor in the
276 pagan quarter of Magumeri. Other minor stimulants are cigarettes, chew-
272 ing tobacco, tamarind juice, soft drinks and candies.

751 A different variety of stimulant, which involves almost
789 everyone in some expenditure, is a supernatural or medicinal one, in
which the individual expects to be protected against malevolence and
[432] misfortune, and to achieve sexual, political and economic success. This
type of stimulant comes traditionally from the native doctor or the
specialized charm seller, each of whom sells items which stimulate great-
er success, or stave off failure along some dimension of aspiration.
789 In the culture contact situation, this has created a good market for
177 "patent medicines" which are beginning to appear in large quantities in
the urban centre. Thus at Maiduguri, a European drug store sports such
items as "Pregno" for pregnant women, "Braino" for students, "Backo"
for anyone with back-aches, "Power" for anyone wishing to increase his
personal fortunes, and so on. The recognized superiority of Western
technology is generalized to its medicinal stimulants and these meet a
sharp demand.

302 Cosmetics in Bornu are used by both sexes although more time,
money and effort is spent in self-beautification by women. Both men and
women use perfume, although only at the upper class level is it a daily
practice. Perfume is always passed around at major ceremonies to both

302 sexes and constitutes one of the minor expenses to be reckoned with by
301 the ceremonial initiator. Men and women wear rings of silver or some
other white metal and women also wear bracelets, anklets, hairpins, ear
302 plugs, and necklaces. Women darken their eyes with antimony, and col-
our their front teeth red. Males have their heads shaved by a barber
once every two or three weeks, sometimes letting it go for an entire
month. Women dress their hair every fifteen days. Female friends,
relatives or neighbours dress one another's hair in turn. Men give
their wives a regular allowance to cover the cost of hair dressing
which includes expenditures for pomade, cloves, special needlelike ob-
jects for braiding and other materials that go into the elaborate con-
fection of a Kanuri woman's hair styling. Men and women also (not
universally) dye their hands and feet in indigo and henna respectively.

511

In the budget interviews the composite expenditure for cer-
emonials, entertainments, stimulants and cosmetics ranged between
£3.0.0 to £12.0.0 (per annum) with one person lower (£2.0.0) and three
higher (£15.0.0, £20.0.0 and £38.0.0) - those higher were two N.A. of-
ficials and a city trader; all, therefore, non-peasants. Taking the
median point as our measure of central tendency, we can allow about
£8.0.0 sterling for this category of consumption in the average (four
person) rural household. This brings the calculated rural expenditure
in cash value to £58.0.0 per household.

Operating Expenses

Operating costs are those expenditures which are not con-
sumed for their own value as entertainment, or subsistence items, but
are necessary expenses, which maintain the economic unit as a produc-
tive entity. In this category are such things as housing, tools, la-
bour, land, transportation, taxes, fuel and seeds.

571

The tools and household fixtures needed, include things like pots for water and cooking, calabashes and enamel ware dishes (often bought by the women from their own income, and made part of their own private property), leather water buckets and rope, hoes, axes, knives, spears and craft tools (if any are needed), mats, trunks, locks, and halters for horses and livestock. These are things which almost all Kanuri families own, and which depreciate, necessitating periodic expenditures for their replacement. Naturally, in larger households which use more water, sleep more people and produce more income, the expenditures for tools and fixtures increases. Wealthy urban houses have wells dug within the compound walls, making water easily accessible, while in Maiduguri, better class homes now have electric lights as part of the home fixtures.

[312]

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In the rural areas, fuel is old millet stalks or wood, gathered in the bush or bought from woodcutters. In upper class homes where women are often secluded and grain is purchased, then lack of millet stalks and female labour require that fires be fed from purchased wood.

[354]

All houses in Bornu, except those few having electricity, need kerosene, sold by the bottle, or the filling for lamps.

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Transportation is necessary for visiting, going to market, or moving permanently to a new town or city. Modes of transport include foot, donkey, horse, camel, motor lorry, and all are commonly used. However, today the lorry is the most generally utilized form of transport for any long distance travel, while horse, donkey, camel and foot

[484]

are still used extensively for shorter moves in the locality. Camel caravans still ply northward from Maiduguri to attend markets at Geidam and Nguru, one hundred and fifty and two hundred miles to the north-west.

[492]

At the local rural level, donkeys and horses are the most common means of transportation besides walking.

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23/ of transportation besides walking. In the farm survey it was found that
 511 of seventy-five household heads questioned, about one-half (forty-five per cent) owned horses and better than half (fifty-nine per cent) owned from one to three donkeys. Horses, besides being modes of conveyance, are prestige objects of value per se, and thus are purchased for this latter purpose as well as their utilitarian value. Thus a man who already owned a horse might trade it for a bigger, a faster, or a more beautiful one, i.e. for a number of non-economic as well as economic reasons.

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There are four house types in general use in Bornu. Each one is progressively more durable than the other and more expensive. The diagrams on the next page illustrate these types of accommodation. Type "A" is usually replaced and rebuilt every three to four years, while types "B" and "C" may last up to ten years with only minor repairs. In larger towns and among the upper classes generally type "D", a mud-walled edifice with a domed mud roof braced on wooden arches is [178] the predominant variety. Today, burnt brick and cement with corrugated iron roofing is slowly coming in as a desirable building material at the top echelons of society.

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[356]

With the expansion of numbers in a household, the amount of huts must be increased and replacement costs and depreciation increase proportionately. Compound walls are a similar expense. Zana mat (grass) [351] walls must be replaced every two to three years while mud walls, only need repairs and maintenance after each rainy season, or perhaps after every two if they have been well constructed.

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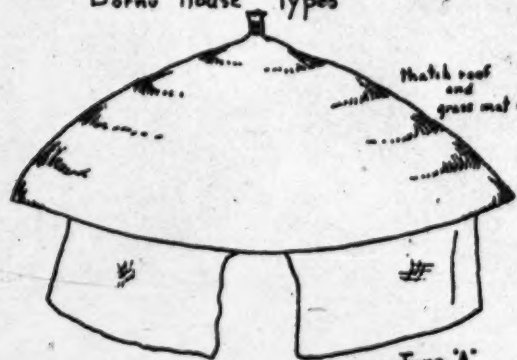
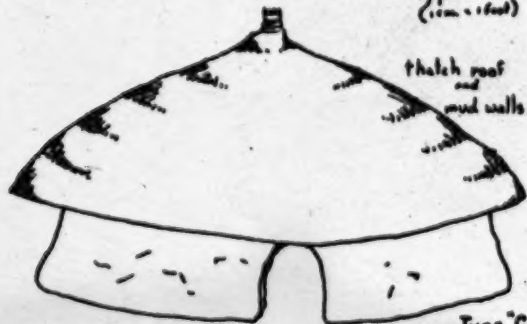
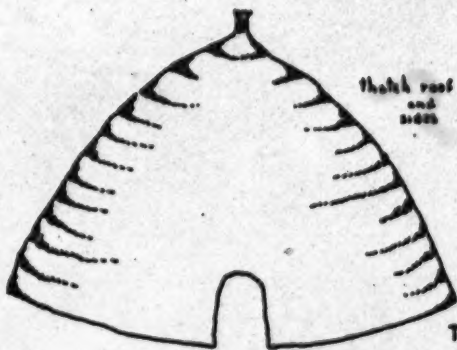
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Building is handled in two ways. A common method among the lower strata is for the household head aided by neighbours, friends and relatives to organize a serwa (co-operative work group). The women of

[text continues on p.300]

Bornu House Types

thatch roof
and
grass mat wallsType "A"
(diam. = 16 feet)thatch roof
and
mud wallsType "C"
(diam. = 16 feet)thatch roof
and
mud wallsType "B"
(diam. = 16 feet)mud walls
and
mud roofType "D"
(diam. = 16 feet)

342 the house often aided by the wives of the serwa participants cook a large
 476 meal for the men who build the house. Materials are bought by the own-
 565 er. This method is only practised in the construction of house types

342 "A" and "B". Secondly, building with mud is carried out by specialists
 331 and they must be employed and paid to build the house. However, this
 565 requirement is not clearcut; specialists are also used to construct house
 types "A" and "B", especially "B" which is a larger and more complicated
 variety. The determining variable for the use of specialists is social
 status. The higher the status of a male householder, the less likely
 is he to use a serwa and the more likely is he to utilize specialist la-

[369]bour. Today in the cities, southern Nigerians, especially Ibo contract-
 [563]ors, as well as a few Hausa and Kanuri, contract with both the govern-
 ment and private individuals to build houses using combinations of both
 traditional and western building techniques and design.

423 Rent is paid in the cities where houses are regularly pur-
 [427]chased and sold by private persons. In rural areas, in the villages
 [369]and hamlets, there is no need for house rental, since new housing is
 cheap and land is not scarce in or near the settlement. Land rights in
 Bornu are not, however, so simple, for the Kanuri do not operate their
 system of land tenure under one definite set of rules. The primary
 criterion for land ownership is usufruct. The land is given to the pea-
 [425]sant by the political leader of the community. The peasant and his de-
 scendants hold this property for as long as they maintain its use, giving

423 the feudal leader a tithe every year on the produce. In Magumeri, the
 632 Lawan (Village Head) has nominal control over all free land within a rad-
 ius of about three-quarters of a mile from the town. Farms within this
 circle are called kulo fatobe (compound or "House" farms), while those
 beyond are called kulo karabe (bush farms). Permission should be sought

425 Permission should be sought
632 for a new farm in either area. However, land obtained from the Lawan
+23 in the "house" farm section is already cleared and bounded into plots;
this type of acquisition is thought and spoken of as a bequest. On
the other hand, permission to use bush land is not so much a grant from
the Lawan as a formal recognition of his political leadership in the
community. Furthermore, bushland must be cleared and the act of clear-
ing is a traditionally accepted criterion for the establishment of
property rights.

423 The "house" farms are not to be confused with the small garden
241 plots kept usually by women inside the compound walls. (1)
These latter
plots are planted with early maturing maize, millet and vegetables,
which are used for easing the hard times before the harvest and as a
423 private source of income by women. To the Kanuri, the word fato used
[829] to describe a piece of land adjacent to the town or village reflects
their conception of the settlement as a set of extended patrilocal
households. The lands immediately adjacent to a stable settlement are
owned by the long term resident households and passed on to descendants.
These people also own bush farms but can be distinguished from more re-
cent arrivals to the town by their ownership of plots in the house farm
area.

423 The difference between bush and "house" farms can thus be
829 seen in Kanuri eyes as a difference in social identification. A "house"
farm represents older, more integrated membership in the community,
while a bush farm indicates newness or transience. The former means a
working relationship, not only a formal one, between the owner and the

[192] (1) There is no difficulty here if the term is translated literally;
fato - of the compound, i.e. the genitive case, meaning the farm
of the compound. In-the-compound would require the use of the Kan-
uri word suro - in or inside of.

⁴²³
[829] political leader, and/or it means that the person has inherited land through his agnatic relationship to a previous community member.

A second characteristic of Kanuri land tenure is its progressively private character through time, especially after an inheritance. Thus if A receives a plot in the house farm area from his Lawan and three seasons later leaves the town the land returns to the dispensing power of the political leader. However, if A receives land from his father and wishes to leave the area, he may give the land to a friend, or attempt to sell it, especially if he considers it a "good" farm plot. That is to say, after land use rights have passed on through inheritance, the dispensation of these rights comes (more properly) under the power of the inheritors using the land. However, things are not quite so clearcut in practice as this description implies. Thus much depends on the particular political leader and the peasant in question. The writer has seen land rented by A to B when it had only been given to A by the Lawan a few years before, and there are numerous stories of Lawans attempting to repossess land use rights or their dispensation after several generations. Thus the second characteristic is more properly speaking a tendency among other. Kanuri land tenure as observed today is really the result of three forces which operate in greater or lesser intensity through time. These are (a) the rights of land dispensation of the political leader, especially to land adjacent to the settlement; (b) the rights of agnatic kin members over inherited land; and (c) the right accruing to anyone through clearing new land and using it. The stability of this ownership system depends primarily upon the political relations between households and their local political leaders. Given a working political unit in which rights, duties and obligations of superiors and subordinates in the community

423 are not in conflict, then no trouble emerges from these potentially conflicting criteria of land ownership.

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[182] The following table, indicating sources of land acquisition, demonstrates the fact that for the most part Kanuri land tenure is closely related to traditional modes of socio-political organization.

TABLE XVII

Table of Modes of Land Acquisition for Seventy-five Cultivators

Occupation	No. of Inherited plots	From pol. leader		Cleared bush		Bought or given as a gift		% of row totals
		#	%	#	%	#	%	
farmers	48	31	64.6	7	14.6	9	18.8	100.0%
craftsmen	27	17	62.9	10	37.1	0	-	100.0%
traders	26	14	53.9	5	19.2	5	19.2	100.0%
pol. & rel. specialists	23	10	43.5	10	43.5	2	8.7	100.0%
Totals	124	72	58.1	32	25.8	16	12.9	100.0%

From Lawan or Bulama.

The table indicates that 58.1% of all farm land in the three towns examined was acquired through inheritance, i.e. kinship affiliation, while an additional 25.8% was obtained through some political relationship between the cultivator and his local leader. In other words, 83.9% of all land was acquired by producers as a result of their traditional roles in either the kinship or political organization of the rural scene, whereas only 16.1% of the land holdings were the result of individual effort, purchase or gift.

425 It should also be noted that the 25.8% of all land obtained from political leaders refers to cleared, bounded plots, not bushland.

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571 The high proportion of land obtained by political and religious specialists from the political leader reflects the social relations of these informants, many of whom have a close subordinate relationship to followers and supporters of the Lawan of their town.

241 Operating costs for rural farm plots are governed by two
[65.1] factors. Firstly, there are tithes (sakat) which all farmers pay to their
[134] local political leader as a form of traditional tax. Secondly, there is soil depletion which brings decreasing results for equal effort through
[433] time. Thus even with proper planting, weeding and harvesting, the yield on a one acre plot of millet may range from eighty to four hundred pounds of threshed product, while the range for groundnuts is almost as large (one hundred and ten to three hundred and fifty pounds of decorticated
242 nuts per acre). Farm plots are generally used for three to five year
425 periods and then left fallow for four to six years. It should be noted
571 that this soil depletion factor tends to activate the political organization. The farmer requiring new land generally seeks the advice of his
(1) local political leader as to whether to clear new bush land or perhaps
(2) take up some unused old plot already cleared, if such be available.

423 In summary, land in Bornu can be categorized under four headings: (1) private property, which today refers primarily to house sites in large cities: these are not deeded but they can be rented or sold in a commercial transaction; (2) usufruct property, that is owned because the holder uses it, or cleared it from the bush; this also refers to

[631] (1) Increased numbers in the household operates to the same effect.
(2) In order to avoid the anomaly of a higher political authority having to ask a lower one for favours, in places like Magumeri which house a District Head, a large section of land is set aside for the use of the incumbent D.H. and his subordinates. Thus the followers of the D.H. may apply directly to him rather than the local Lawan for land use rights. N.A. employees have their choice, they may ask the D.H. or the Lawan if they wish to obtain farm plots. In all these cases it is understood that tithing is unnecessary, for none of the persons involved are "peasants of Lawan".

- 423 rural house sites; (3) resting land which is owned through usufruct right but whose soil is depleted; (4) virgin land between settlements, 425 which is open to ownership through the operation of usufruct rights. Finally, land may be transferred through inheritance, allocation by political leaders, clearing of bush and sale or gift.

Labour

464 Besides his own efforts, the Kanuri male householder can obtain 874 help for his craft work from apprentices, who have entered his service. On his farm he may get extra labour from: (1) his wife or wives; 241 (2) other compound members, such as apprentices, wives' relatives, or 464 his own kinsmen or children, if these latter are old enough to contribute; 476 (3) hired labourers who may work either on a contract price for the entire job, or by the day; (4) the co-operative work group (serwa) mentioned above. These people are not necessarily of the same age group. They help one another at farming, building and fixing houses, compound walls and other jobs requiring collective effort. Serwa are easily joined and as easily left and may have a long or a short life depending upon the interest of the members in obtaining such a labour source, as well as upon social and physical mobility of individual group members. The following table indicates the sources of labour utilized by the seventy-five farm owners in the survey.

TABLE XVIII

Table Showing Numbers and Percentages of Cultivators Utilizing the Four Kinds of Labour Sources, in the Farm Survey

Occupation	N	Men using wives		Men using others in compound		Men using labourers		Men using <u>serwa</u>	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
farmers	25	25	100	13	52	8	32	15	60
craftsmen	16	16	100	12	75	7	44	9	56
traders	17	17	100	13	77	12	71	6	35
political and religious spec.	17	16	94	5	29	6	35	6	35
Totals	75	74	98	43	57	33	44	36	48

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The most striking result here is the almost universal reliance upon wives as a source of labour. The only exception in the sample was an upper class person, the headmaster of the Magumeri Junior Primary School, whose wife was confined to the compound in a marriage of

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seclusion. Several other figures in the table are suggestive. The relatively low percentage of "others in the compound" used by political and religious specialists (1) provokes the comment that the political specialists and a few of the religious practitioners in this group were subordinates of local political leaders. They in their turn had very few

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dependants or subordinates in their own compounds. The relatively low percentage of co-operative work group labour utilized by both traders and the political and religious specialists compared with the other groups (2) reflects their higher mobility and looser social ties with set-

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tled rural community life. Finally, the disproportionately high use of labourers by the traders indicates their interest in farming, but their inability to utilize traditional social relationships of kinship and/or settlement patterns to obtain labour sources, and points again to their looser integration in the local social organization.

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Leaving aside urban or upper class members, the cash expenditures for the remaining fifteen rural budgets ranged from one to twelve pounds per annum for 1955-56 with four separate budgets totalling twelve pounds each for operating expenses. Taking £7.0.0 as a rough median measure of central tendency, this brings the total calculated annual expenditures for rural households in Bornu to £65.0.0 in cash values.

- (1) This group is significantly different from the next lowest category in the table (farmers) at nearly the .05 level ($P = 2.14$).
- (2) This difference is significant at the .05 level ($P = 4.05$) when the two top rows of serwa use are lumped and compared with the two bottom ones.

452 It is at this point of the annual household expenses that credit seems
 [511] to operate most commonly. Of the total of £89.0.0 reported by fifteen
 male household heads to have spent on operating costs in 1955-56,
 £16.0.0 or 18% was still owing to creditors. That is to say, in Bornu
 credit is an accepted mode of raising capital for housing improvements,
 buying a horse or other livestock, and paying taxes; it is less common
 for food, clothing, or entertainments (see below pp.324 ff. for a dis-
 cussion of credit).

511 The following table summarizes the quantitative data on con-
 sumption for the annual rural household expenditures in Bornu (in cash
 value). It should be remembered that this is a calculated or construct-
 ed summary based on a small sample of budgets, with additional inform-
 (1)
 ation from a larger farm survey.

TABLE XIX --
Consumption in Rural Bornu .

Food	£41.	62%
Clothing	£ 9.	14%
Ceremonies, Stimulants, Entertainments	£ 8.	12%
Operating costs	£ 7.	11%
Total		£65. (£182.00) 100%

Thus the average rural household of four persons requires
 approximately \$180.00 worth of goods and services per year, when major
 consumption items are expressed in cash values.

Distribution

433 Given differentiation in Bornu, as well as the dependence
 44 of certain production and consumption upon imports, and the minimal as
 well as luxury needs of part and full time specialists, some mechanism

[171] (1) These amounts are similar to those reported by Smith (1955) for the
 Hausa, (see Smith, op. cit.) with a much larger sample.

433 of distribution of goods and services is a necessity for the operation
44 of the social system. In Bornu this takes the form of a market econ-
[441] omy and a specialist occupation of wholesale and retail trade.

443 Traditionally markets are held weekly (the Kanuri have a
805 seven day week), and are referred to locally by the name of the day on
which they are held. This week day name is extended as a second name
for the market town itself, so that both the town and the market are
known by two names. Thus in Magumeri a man may say, "I am going to
Thursday, this Monday", and his hearers understand that on Monday he is
going to Ngubura, the town that holds its market on Thursday. This is
much less common for towns and cities which have major political func-
tions, such as district capitals, or the capital city of Bornu.

443 Markets in rural Bornu are best described as interlocking
366 series of cycles which overlap but are never completely congruent for
any two market towns. A market cycle includes all the markets which
the people of a town attend in their own locality. In Magumeri people
who regularly attend markets go to Ngubura (five miles south) on Thurs-
day, Ardoram (seven miles north) on Monday, and their own Magumeri mar-
ket on Sunday. There are smaller markets in towns without motor road
facilities on Tuesday, Wednesday and Saturday, which are attended less
frequently and these are all within a radius of five to ten miles of
Magumeri. People in Ardoram have their own cycle which interlocks
with the Magumeri one, but includes markets which Magumeri people rare-
443 ly visit, especially to the north. Thus Kachella, a seller of tobacco
366 flowers in Magumeri, has many good friends in Ngubura and Ardoram where
572 he attends markets regularly. He stays with these friends on occasion
if he remains overnight or arrives early for a market. They, in their
turn, visit and sometimes stay overnight with him when they come to

443 Magumeri for the Sunday market. Kachella feels that these people are his
366 friends. On the other hand, although Kachella's market friends to the
572 north are known to and known by his market friends to the south, they
are not "friends" to one another. Again, the friends to the south
have their own friends farther south at markets which Kachella rarely
visits. Thus market cycles are overlapping, interlocking networks of
social and economic relations which vary for each market town.

443 Beside the interlocking cycle of local markets, each town
366 and/or cycle has some kind of link with a larger center of the export-
439 import trade, the two largest being Maiduguri in the south, and Nguru
[437] (the rail head) in the extreme northwest of the Emirate. Traditionally
trading caravans set out from Maiduguri once every two weeks for re-
mote market towns. Although less important today, these can still be
[494] seen. If there are roads, lorries bring people and goods from the
larger centres early on market day and return at night or the next day
with rural purchasers and travellers returning to or visiting the large
urban centre.

443 One of the chief features resulting from this system of
366 distribution is that markets on motor roads assume primary importance
494 while those back in the bush are becoming secondary, and are less well
attended. However, the interlocking nature of the rural market cycles
makes for ease of communication and distribution in the region as a
whole, and this is accentuated by the direct links with the centre and
the modern use of lorries as the primary means of transport.

366 The relation between market towns and population size is
494 indirect. Very few market towns in Bornu have population aggregates
161 of under one thousand, while the presence of a market and, more im-
[162] portantly, a motor road tend to stimulate population growth. Thus pop-

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ulation growth in itself may be said to lead to markets, and markets and transportation facilities, when present, "feed back" to stimulate further growth.

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Markets, especially those on motor roads, tend to set the one pattern or rhythm of intersettlement communication and travel. Thus if Bukar or Magumeri wishes to take several bags of millet to Yerwa (Maiduguri) he knows that he can get a lorry at the Thursday, Sunday or Monday market, which can take him and his goods to the capital. Again if Bukar's sister is coming to visit him from the capital or some other distant town in Bornu, she will arrive on a market day. If a man's wife wishes to divorce him, or he her, she must wait until market day to leave him in order to obtain "proper" transportation back to her relatives if they live in some distant part of the state. Thus the market cycle plus the presence of lorries and roads determines a large part of the temporal movement of rural life. This, of course, adds zest, interest and excitement to market day. Beyond the temporal categorization of [203] events, markets are also major sources of news and gossip about politics, [273] marriages, births, circumcisions and deaths. Pagans brew beer for sale [525] on the local market day, and gamblers hold (illicit) card games in the nearby bush area. Gambling, strangers, new bits of gossip, perhaps a new woman or two, drummers and entertainers, all contribute and create not just an ordinary day for buying and selling goods but a festive occasion which is regarded as a break or relief in the daily monotony of rural life.

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Each local market has its head man (mala knaube) to whom disputes are referred. If he is unable to settle the disagreement, then the disputants are taken to either the Lavan (Village Head) of the market town, or the judge, if the town boasts a court. In Maiduguri, there

In Maiduguri, there
[443] is an Alkali court within the confines of the market area which handles
[698] all cases occurring in the market. Each category of goods or services sold has its own section and, as in town planning, the butcher section is almost always to leeward (southwest) of the market. Market fees for stalls are exacted in the larger centres such as Maiduguri and Nguru. In Magumeri, stalls seemed to be allotted on a "first come, first served" basis except that sellers always take up positions in the particular section of the market given over to their commodity or service.

In Magumeri on non-market days, there are daily stalls in various parts of the town where sundries such as kerosene, cigarettes, flashlight batteries, sugar, small quantities of meat, grain, vegetables and cooked foods can be obtained. That these supplies are limited is indicated by the shortage which obtains if some larger assemblage
[123] of people are meeting in town between market days. One of the writer's
[435] "followers" (tada njina) had the privilege of taking cigarettes from the former's house stores during ceremonies when town supplies were depleted and prices rose ten to fifteen per cent above normal. The cigarettes were returned in kind on market day when they could be purchased by the follower at standard prices.

[162] In larger centres, such as Maiduguri, Goidam and Nguru, where the population is over ten thousand, the presence of larger numbers of full-time specialists necessitates that the market remain open
[805] every day. However, the weekly tradition still obtains even in these places in that the day upon which the market used to be held weekly is still its most active and populous occasion, and the market is still referred to by its old weekly day name. Thus in Maiduguri, the Monday market is held every day although on Monday it still attracts many more people and goods than any other day of the week.

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The price mechanism is so nearly uniform for any one commodity on any one market day (and often for months at a time), that a system of consensus is implied. And yet to the best of the writer's knowledge no self-consciously organized price setting is practised in the Borno markets. When there is room for fluctuation, price seems to emerge as a norm which results from the interaction of buyers to sellers, and sellers to sellers, through buyers. It should be remembered that all sellers of one commodity are located together in the market. They may be seated under a tree, as are the women who sell cooked foods, or in line under a common set of stick and mat shelters, or in a common section under several shelters like the tailors and sellers of cloth. What is important here is that sellers of any one commodity can overhear what prices are being charged to buyers. The early morning sellers, if alone, may have no norm and consequently, may haggle with buyers for quite some time over price unless they wish to sell all their wares early in order to transact other business, drink beer, visit friends and so on. As more sellers arrive, most buyers check prices with all sellers of the same commodity before making a purchase. (If prices are constant and the item is sold by the measure, then the various measures used by the different sellers are carefully inspected so that any smaller measuring vessels may be avoided). From these practices a norm very quickly emerges which lasts almost the entire market day, given a plentiful supply of the commodity. If, however, the item becomes scarce, then individual sellers, realizing that some of their competitors are out of stock, or have left the market, ⁽¹⁾ raise prices. Contrarily, if the end of market day is approaching and stocks are high, prices can be

(1) Some commodity sellers with slightly more money were observed to buy out one or more of their competitors early in the day in order to control supplies and prices for that day more easily.

443 pushed down by a nonchalant buyer with an anxious seller whose sales
435 for that day have been low.

This above description has exaggerated the price fluctuations to some extent. With many items, prices hold as constants for long periods and become an institutionalized part of the market. Thus a box of sugar cubes is one shilling and only very rarely did this price ever
443 vary in the entire period of the field work. Even with prices that did
435 vary, it is the writer's opinion that European travellers and commentators
437 on Africa have overstressed the haggling up and down variability of prices in African markets because of their own experiences. Certainly, market sellers like to haggle over price and do so with all the enjoyment of the hardened poker player bluffing at cards. However, only to
[609] the European, who is conceived of as infinitely wealthy, do prices range
[829] so widely. When the writer attended his first markets, sellers haggled wildly and prices ranged enormously to him and to his wife. However, with time, the "real" prices were learned and the range within which
[609] haggling could take place narrowed significantly. If the writer then attended a new market where he was unknown, except as a European, then the range widened again and sometimes the seller would refuse to come anywhere near the "real" price claiming in Kamuri to his associates and the world in general that a European should pay more than an African. Friends always instructed the writer on the "real" price, telling him not to allow a price to be raised simply because he was a European. This "real" price is something which can be easily overlooked in an open market where haggling is the format of the buyer-seller relationship. Bartering may range widely or narrowly, but the experienced buyer and seller both know quite well, within a very small margin, where the final price will be set. This is why the really tenacious bartering comes at

443 the very end of the haggling. Thus it may take only two or three min-
435 utes to narrow a seller down from fifteen shillings to something a-
437 round five; but will it be 5/6d or 4/6d; 4/9d or 5/3d; or 5/- even? -
this last seesaw in pricing may take fifteen or twenty minutes. For
although norms of price may be set for market day or longer on any com-
modity, there is always a small range of a few pennies around the norm
which can be called the "real" price. This is not a single price, but
really a range within which serious haggling takes place.

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221 Finally, it should be noted that price in Bornu vary with
the seasons. In general, the harvest period from November to the end
of December is a time of plenty, while July and August, the growing sea-
son, is a time of shortage. Prices on all commodities, except food, fall
during the wet season when incomes are at their lowest and men are tak-
ing time off from their dry season activity to tend their fields. They
then rise around the harvests when cash crops are sold and money is
more plentiful. Thus the Maria Theresa dollar can be bought for 6/9d
to 7/- in July, but goes up as high 8/- to 9/- in November after the
[262] harvests. Food is scarce during the wet season, surplus sellers are
short (some even stop selling) and prices of bulk (per 200 lbs. bag)
rise when other prices are falling. Similarly when other commodities
are rising in price after the harvest, food, which is plentiful, falls
in value.

The Organization of Trade

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At the local level in Bornu, trade is handled by retailers.
Under this heading come sellers of food items, cooked and uncooked foods,
sundries, medicine, charms, medical services, builders, etc. With one

443 With one
 [442] exception, (1)
 [438] locally produced items such as medical services, pottery, meat, and so on, do not have a wholesale organization. Goods not produced locally involve some supra-local organization. This is true of things like salt, textiles, kola-nuts and manufactured goods. As a general rule, locally produced goods and services are retailed by their producers or their close relatives. Thus a lady making pots might send a daughter to market to sell; but a pottery woman was never observed selling her wares to a middleman who would in turn retail them. The data given above on Ka'anami, the calabash maker, is another example of this general rule.

438 On the other hand, retailers of goods not produced locally
 442 must have some operating social relationships with a wholesale source of
 443 supply. This wholesale supply relation may vary from a specifically
 571 economic one to a much more diffuse superior/subordinate relationship. The primary modes of behavioral interaction for all these relationships are bärzum (discipline-respect) and aman (trust). (2) Some examples may help to illustrate this point.

(a) Momadu Mandama (Momadu, the salt seller)

438 Momadu, a man of about fifty-five to sixty years of age,
 442 has lived in Magumeri for seven or eight years. He comes originally
 443 from Madafia (to the west of Bornu) where he began selling salt for a

[824] (1) Ovorongo, the plant used by women for staining their teeth is produced locally, but not in enough quantity in any one town to meet demand. Thus a few middlemen per market cycle collect the plants from producers and distribute them throughout the area covered by their own market cycles. They sell to both consumers and retailers.
 [302]

(2) See above, pp. 57-68.

(1)
 438 mai gida who was an Arab trader when he was still a small boy. The
 442 Arab would give him several bags of salt (about 101bs. per bag) on
 443 credit and he would sell this material, winning about 1/- per bag for
 himself. After all the goods were sold, he paid the Arab for them.
 In his later teens or early twenties, he came to Maiduguri where he had
 [578] some agnatic relatives. They backed him for a while but he ended this
 relationship because of quarrels over the division of the profits.

When he first came to Magumeri, the wife of the District
 Head of the day became his mai gida (i.e. his supplier of salt). Her
 servants went to Maiduguri and picked up salt from wholesalers. She
 then distributed small lots in bags to retailers. When she left sev-
 eral years ago, he obtained another mai gida in Maiduguri.

It is from this mai gida that Momadu receives his salt at
 the present time. A tada njima (son of the house, subordinate follower)
 of the Maiduguri trader brings five bags of salt to Magumeri on Sun-
 days (market day) and Momadu sells them during the week at approximate-
 571 ly 2/6d profit per bag. Momadu feels no strong responsibility in this
 relation for, as he says, he has an aba njima (father of the house,
 superior, protector) or superior/subordinate relationship with Kachella
 Abba, the dyer and cloth seller in Magumeri. He eats at Kachella Abba's
 house, borrows money from him without interest, runs messages for him
 and helps Kachella Abba on his farm. If Kachella Abba ever moves away
 from Magumeri, Momadu feels that he would go with him. The salt seller
 claims that he has no father now and Kachella Abba is really his father

[192] (1) Mai gida is Hausa for head of the compound. In Kanuri it is used
 [571] to mean the same thing, or it can also mean the person from whom
 ego obtains his goods. It implies superior/subordinate relation-
 ship, and (in Kanuri) can also imply a wholesale source of supply,
 i.e. a person who is ego's wholesaler.

571 (even though the two men are almost the same age).

(b) Bukar, tada njima of Mala Yaro (Bukar, the "son of the house" of Mala Yaro.

438 Bukar can be seen three or four days a week walking about
442 town in Kagumeri, with a tin of cellophane wrapped candies. Mala Yaro,
443 one of the K. A. messengers who goes in and out to the city regularly
571 gives him a tin about once a week, which the boy sells in town. Mala Yaro buys the tin from a "Kanti" (canteen or shop) run by a Kanuri in Maiduguri. The boy who is not related by kinship or marriage to his superior also helps Mala Yaro in the compound, carries his spear when the latter rides in ceremonial displays, gathers grass for the horse, carries water for the household (the women are in seclusion) and in return receives his food, clothing, shelter and spending money from his superior. Profits from the retailing of candy accrue to the senior who gives Bukar a small commission for his selling services. Here the retail economic relationship is only one small aspect of the superior/subordinate barzum relationship between the seller and his wholesale supplier, and therefore both meanings of the word apply to the one situation.

* (c) Ajimi Gworoma (Ajima the kola-nut seller)

438 For the six to eight months a year when he is not tending his
442 farm plots and intermittently during the farming season, Ajimi sells to bakana, retailers of small quantities of kola nuts. His Pa-Ol-Bro is (1) Alkali Bukar, the ex-Alkali (judge) of Geidam District. As of July, 1956, Alkali Bukar had given Ajimi £20.0.0 in cash on eight separate occasions since the end of the 1955 harvests. With this money Ajimi purchased kola-nuts from big traders, who had trucked the nuts into Maiduguri from Jos, Kano and other parts of Nigeria.
[554] (1) Having once received the title of Alkali, or any title, the recipient maintains it every after he has become inactive in the role.

438 guri from Jos, Kano and other parts of Nigeria.

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Ajimi regularly obtains his nuts from four of these traders, all of whom he visits, and all of whose goods he inspects and prices before he decides where to place his order. He strongly asserts that his primary criterion in making the decision as to where to buy is the quality of the nuts. Two of the suppliers are Kanuri, one of whom owns his own lorries; the other two are Hausa. Ajimi has gone to other suppliers in the past but could not, at the time of this study, remember their names. By going to the same supplier over and over again with his uncle's money, he builds up confidence, and has on several occasions obtained an extra kwando on credit from one of the Kanuri suppliers, the profits of which he kept entirely for himself.

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Although there is some variation in price, it generally occurs at the retail level, while for bulk shipments cash prices remain fairly constant, and it is quantity which varies with supply, quality and demand. Thus £20.0.0 is generally the price for a kwando of kola-nuts (a large raffia rope-bound package). A kwando contains seven thousand to eight thousand nuts depending upon their size, quality and the state of the market at any particular time. After returning to Magumeri, Ajimi generally gets back about £32.0.0 per kwando and returns the money, plus half the profits (i.e. £6.0.0) to Alkali Bukar. This buying and selling procedure takes him between thirteen to seventeen days or roughly two weekly market cycles.

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He wholesales his nuts in the Magumeri area and regularly attends the Magumeri (Sunday), Camiram (Thursday),⁽¹⁾ and Arderam (Monday) markets.

(1) He avoids the more usual Thursday market at Ngubura and attends the Gajiram market because it has no motor road, and he finds less competition and a smaller number of kola-nut wholesalers there than at Ngubura.

442 markets. The nuts are sold to any kola-nut retailer (bakama) who wishes
572 to buy them, but Ajimi named thirty-five of these whom he considered to
be "friends" and more regular customers than others. At the same time
(1)
442 they buy from other and bigger wholesalers. Retailers also use stan-
452 dards of quality as well as price in their buying discriminations, but
572 are interested even more in obtaining a credit relationship with their
supplier. To his thirty-five "regulars", which include four consanguin-
al kin, Ajimi does extend credit if requested and this is fairly often.
He does not give credit to a stranger, a man he does not consider a
"friend", i.e. with whom he has had little contact. This credit can
mount up and if several debtors leave for other places in Bornu, Ajimi
can conclude his selling trip with a loss rather than a gain. This
happened to him in July, 1955, when he reportedly lost £12.0.0 on one
kwando of kola-nuts. The people who owed him money all seemed to be
moving around the country at the time and he was left with a lot of bad
debts from retailers who had moved off to other parts of Bornu.

442 When asked specifically, Ajimi replies that Alkali Bugar is
571 his mai gida, but when describing the relationship in his own words he
does not use the term. Instead, he repeatedly refers to himself as the
tada of the Alkali and says that this person is "like his father".

[602] That is to say, although the mai gida relationship can be used to de-
scribe what happens between Ajimi and his Fa-Ol-Bro, it is more often
used when the relationship is not truly consanguinal.

Ajimi is quite prepared to move into a bazum relationship
with any of the four big traders from whom he buys if this could be ar-
ranged profitably between them. Indeed, Ajimi is very much on the look-

(1) Ajimi only sells one kwando per trading trip, while others distri-
bute anywhere from two to six.

442 out for some new supplier relations since he has recently lost money
 571 (1) for Alkali Bukar and the latter, kinship notwithstanding, has been re-
 luctant to continue his financing. Without being asked, Ajimi referred
 to the possibility of relationships in the future with non-kin backers
 to meet his need for a mai gida.

(d) Alkali Bukar

441 Alkali Bukar who up until summer of 1957, had been financing
 452 Ajimi, was at one time the Alkali of Magumeri and still owns a choice
 [423] farm plot there which his son plants and harvests for him with the aid
 [648] of labourers. When he was dismissed from his judicial post several years
 ago by the British he went into trade using his house in Maiduguri as
 his headquarters.

441 He gives out money to people like Ajimi to trade with and
 452 takes a share of the profits. Some of these subordinates are kin rela-
 571 tions, most are not. Those who are not consanguinal kin start out in
 his household as tada njima where they carry water, cut grass for the
 for the horses, run messages and so on. For this they receive their
 food, shelter, clothing and a little spending money. If over a period
 of one to two years they prove trustworthy the Alkali gives them some
 441 money for trade. During 1956-57 he engaged in the following ventures
 438 in Bornu:

- (1) Several (two or three) "boys" bought millet in Gaidam for sale in Maiduguri.
- (2) One "boy" sold cloth (obtained by the Alkali) in Damasac, as well as onions, which the subordinate obtained himself with the Alkali's money.

[684](1) Ajimi has a penchant for adultery and has had to pay several large fines recently, the money for which he obtained from his trading receipts.

- 441 (3) One "boy" bought fish at Abadam on Lake Chad and sold it in Maidu-
439 guri.
- (4) One "boy" bought soda in Bama (Cameroons) for sale in Maiduguri.
- (5) Several (one to three) bought cattle in Bornu and sold them in Kano.
- (6) Several (one to three) bought cattle in Bornu and sold them in Mak-
urdi.
- (7) One "boy" purchased butter in Danaturu (Fulani country) and sold it
in Maiduguri.
- 441 (8) One (Ajimi) sold kola-nuts in Kagumeri and previously bought ground-
438 nuts for sale in the capital.

441 It can readily be seen that this man, although not directly
571 involved, finances a fairly large amount of trade. His method of par-
ticipation is peculiarly Kanuri, in that he utilizes the tada njina
relationship with its bbrzum (discipline-respect) and aman (trust) con-
tent to head up a large commercial organization on a structural basis
similar to Kanuri kinship and political organization.

441 It is men like Alkali Bukar who form the basis for what
452 might be called "finance traders", i.e. a person who has sufficient
capital and/or credit connections, that he can begin attracting to him-
self subordinates whose primary task is the business of buying and sel-
ling commodities throughout Bornu. Like almost all trade in the area
which is not directly linked to consumer expenditure, the activities
of men like Alkali Bukar are extremely diffuse. He does not specialize
in any one item of trade, rather he finances any type of buying and
selling in which any conceivable profit might accrue to himself. This
[511] diffuse quality in trade is due to several factors. Firstly, the pov-
erty of the country which is reflected in its small consumption of any
one item per unit family. This makes it more profitable to spread out

441 and trade in many commodities. Secondly, the European companies have
452 always dealt in all items of export and import, and have encouraged and
(648) even forced, at times, (through conditional sales) their trade con-
tacts to deal in more than one item.

441 However, the process of specialization is always latently
178 present, requiring only proper stimulation to emerge in the face of the
traditional process of organising relationships in the pattern of an
441 extended Kanuri household. This has happened in the case of a Maiduguri
439 trader, Alhaji Jibrim, who is a partner in a crocodile skin exporting
281 business with a European. The European, whose brothers collect skins
in four or five other African countries, feels that with self-govern-
ment coming shortly to Nigeria, his business interests will best be
served in the future if his Nigerian branch has an African partner.
Alhaji has a score of tada njima who go to the bush with cash and con-
tact other middlemen who have obtained the crocodile skins from the
hunters. The tada njima then bring the skins to Maiduguri, where they
are prepared by Alhaji and his European partner for air transport to
Paris, London and New York.

441 Few Bornu traders are as specialized as Alhaji Jibrim. The
typical trader takes goods and cash from wherever he can and passes
these on to the subordinates in his organization, his tada njima, who
then trade with local wholesalers or retailers.

441 Intermeshed with Kanuri trade and acting as an export/import
439 filter through which most large scale trade passes in and out of Bornu
563 are the Levantine and European trading establishments.

The Levantines are small business men who understand western
commercial techniques and are willing to deal in small quantities to
many outlets. Thus a large proportion obtain goods and credit from the

441 Levantines. This does not mean that there are no Africans trading
439 directly with the European houses, rather it reflects an historical
563 development in which the Levantine traders emerged as the middlemen
between the European and the African trading communities.

Although a little importing and exporting is carried on by the Levantine and, to a much smaller extent, by the Kanuri traders, the bulk of the export/import trade is done by five or six leading European firms. (1) This system has been attacked by local Bornu politicians, who feel that the Levantines should not have the easiest and largest access to the credit of European firms and banks. The difficulty encountered is that the present system has built-in supports which tend, albeit with diminishing force, to perpetuate its present form. First of all, it must be realized that once the credit is out to the Levantine traders, it is difficult to liquidate in any real fashion. When attempts [452] are made to do this, e.g. when one company is clearing its books, a very usual practice is followed in which the indebted Levantine trader merely goes to another competing European firm (or several) plus the bank, if possible, and takes enough credit to pay his debt to the liquidating company. European traders often refer to this phenomenon and complain of the Levantines as having them "by the throats". Secondly, it is patently easier for harassed European managers to keep track of trade with fifty to one hundred Levantines than it would be with hundreds of African entrepreneurs. Thirdly, there is less cultural and racial distance between European managers of the large firms and the Levantine traders than between the European and the African. Similarly,

(1) Excluding mining equipment, ships, boats and stores of the larger shipping companies, it has been estimated, Bauer, P.T., West African Trade, p. 69, that 70% of all West African trade (as of 1949) is handled by six trading companies.

441 the Levantine often speaks Kanuri and almost always fluent Hausa; he
439 lives in the African town; and is a Muslim. He is therefore culturally
563 and socially closer to the Kanuri traders than is the European and
stands in middleman relationship between the European and the African
for many other than simply economic reasons.

178 Pressure to short-cut the Levantine trader continues from
441 the African community. Growing capital resources and acquaintance with
439 western business techniques, besides a growing nationalism which hints at
563 xenophobia, is enlarging the direct contacts between the African and the
European trading houses. At least one European firm has recently made
a definite move to go to the rural areas and seek out retailers locally
to give them small advances of textile goods, thus short-cutting the
chain of middlemen which has previously obtained between the European
importers and the bush retailer.

Credit

452 Underlying much of the economy of Bornu is a manifold system of credit which eases the operation of the production, consumption and distribution of goods and services. At the local level, credit can

452 be obtained in several ways. A man may borrow money or goods from a
571 friend, relative or superior with whom he has a relationship involving mutual trust. This kind of credit requires no interest. Failure to repay renders future requests less possible and makes the relationship less important for both concerned. Thus if Modu borrows five pounds from his friend or superior and does not repay the loan, other aspects of the relationship such as eating food at his creditor's house begin
[691] to atrophy. Court action is a possibility but only as a last resort and after some overt antagonism since it translates a potentially profitable relationship into one of mutual conflict and such breaches do not heal easily.

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452 not heal easily.

452 Money may also be obtained in small quantities from a local
426 money-lender, whose usual interest charge is twenty-five to fifty per
cent over a short time span of one to six months. These loans may or
may not include ran (collateral) in which the indebted individual puts up
452 a robe, a cow, a sheep, or some of his cash crop as collateral. This
426 latter method of putting up some of the cash crop has developed in the
455 last decade or so into a virtual selling of futures, rather than simple
utilization of the crop as collateral. A man who needs money during the
growing season can obtain cash for the promise of so much of his cash
crop. Since the prices of the crop have been stabilized by the govern-
ment, the money-lender is fairly certain of the margin of his return.
During 1956-57, when groundnuts were bringing 55/- per bag, a man could
get 20/- to 25/- per bag from a money-lender for his crops after the
plants had germinated. Just how much of this goes on is difficult to
say, for it is illegal, and is also carried on by cash crop buyers who
have much larger cash reserves than local money-lenders. Again, it is
customary, where possible, for a man who has sold a future, to try and
save enough money from his non-farming occupation to buy someone else's
future, so that at harvest time he can still obtain his yearly cash har-
vest. This obviously tends to spread the indebtedness, but to what ex-
tent is at present unknown.

426 If informants' reports are to be trusted, it would seem as if
the actual amount of indebtedness at the local rural level at any one
time in Bornu is very small, rising slightly during the growing season. (1)

- (1) The writer's own rough calculation of rural indebtedness comes from a small sample of budgets. The only constant indebtedness which turned up was in the realm of operating expenses (see above p. 307); 18% of operating expenses among fifteen peasant male household heads was being carried on credit. This came to only 2% of the total annual expenditures for the budget sample.

452 But credit per se plays a large part in the total economy. Thus the
441 butchers all remarked that they would buy cows during the wet season,
preferably for cash. If this was not possible, they had arrangements
with nomad cattle herders to take a cow on credit for a higher price, and
then pay the herder after the meat had been sold. As we have seen, Aj-
imi's kola-nut business is run on credit. Many of the articles brought
into the local market such as small manufactured goods, salt, sugar,
cloth, and a host of other items are obtained on credit and payment made
452 after the sale. It is because this entire complex of trading relations
441 depends so much on credit that traditional behaviour norms of barsum,
571 and aman are applied to the economic organization. These institutional-
ized patterns of discipline and trust create an avenue for socially pre-
dictable behaviour without which credit relations would be impossible.

442 Credit also plays a part in the introduction of cash into
[452] the Bornu economy from the European sources of capital. The key role
[436] in this transmission is that of the sakelma (scale man) who buys the
cash crop in the bush. An insight into this role may be seen in some
of the interview material from Malam Mina, a wholesale salt trader, who
also buys groundnuts over the scale at Magumeri during the harvest sea-
son. During November, Malam Mina, along with fifteen to twenty-five
others, comes to Magumeri from the city. He sets up a grass mat shelter
at the "station", near the motor road, about two hundred yards west of
[405] the town proper. The hallmark of this little colony is the scale which
sits out in front of each shelter with bags of decorticated groundnuts
[443] being prepared for shipment into the city. Each shelter also has a gen-
erous supply of textiles for sale so that peasants may purchase their
[369] new cloth on the spot when cashing in the crop. The buyers also bring
their city culture with them and during their short stay, Morris chairs,

442 camp stools, battery radios, talk of politics and city life enliven the
369 rural scene.

442 Malam Mina buys for his mai gida, Alhaji Ali, a Kanuri trad-
443 er in Maiduguri who has a retail store or "canteen" as it is called
452 locally. The mai gida gives Malam Mina cigarettes, flashlight batteries,
perfumes, etc., for the latter's teber (table) or booth which a younger
[405] brother runs for him in Maiduguri. Alhaji Ali obtains about ten scales
from a Levantine trader during the harvest season and gives them out to
his tada (boys) who go to the bush and buy the cash crop. Malam Mina
receives a straight commission of 12/- per ton of decorticated nuts and
as much profit as he can on the import items (mostly textiles) which
are also obtained on credit from his mai gida. He remarked how he had
only been with Alhaji Ali this one year, last year having bought for
another man who had a direct link to a European company. However, last
year he found that his buying price was £20.0 less per ton than other
[434] scale men, and his commission fell. In 1955 his commission (from re-
ceipt slips) was about £60.0.0 but he hoped to get around £75.0.0 or
£80.0.0 in 1956-57.

442 Malam Mina may, if it is possible, depress the price below
435 the buying price given to him. This causes no undue concern on the part
[455] of his mai gida in the city as long as his tonnage does not decline. He
also buys futures at 20/- to 25/- per bag, whenever he can, but would not
estimate how much of this he does.

441 It is interesting to note that Malam Mina has been taken on
571 by his new mai gida and given a trading role without the more usual per-
iod of general service and subordination, as in the case of the "boys"
[212] of Alkali Bukar. Here we have another example of specialization. Malam
Mina is an experienced scale man. He can read and record figures and
sign his name.

441 sign his name. Such skills are rare and thus he can market them to
571 obtain money and credit for trading. The result is to make his relationship to his mai gida much more specifically economic or contractual rather than diffusely subordinate.

452 Finally, it should be realized that the ultimate source of
436 Malam Kina's cash which he gives out in Magumeri is either a European
441 trading company or a bank. Every year before harvest time money and goods go out on credit from these sources to the Levantine and African traders connected with them. These traders in turn divide up the money and goods among their followers and so on until it comes to the bush in the hands of people like Malam Kina. The Kanuri have come to depend on this yearly inflow of cash to buy their clothes, give many of their rites de passage, and to purchase an ever increasing number of manufactured import goods. The entire inflow of cash which supports these requirements is linked through a series of middlemen relationships to a half dozen European sources which are always financing the export/import economy. Because the Kanuri have learned to need the imports in this trade, they are now linked to a world, especially the western world economy, and are vulnerable to the policies of a very small number of large European companies, and the ups and downs of world commerce.

[433]

Chapter X

[p 329]

Summary and Conclusions178
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The description of pre-Colonial Bornu has indicated that despite the rise and fall of its fortune the Kanuri political organization has had a remarkable resiliency throughout the last millenium. As long as the system of feudal organization remained with its nucleus at the capital city and court of the monarch, then the rise and fall of the empire was not fatal to its continuity. Kanuri feudalism is a segmentary corporate political structure; while the top remains intact, the expansion and contraction of the State itself bears no relation to its survival.

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The traditional background from which the present society obtains its roots has been altered in this century by contact with British colonialism. In Northern Nigeria the administration was deeply affected by the views of its founder Lugard, whose own control of the organization of the regional colonial service ensured that many of its norms, procedures and its overall policy would be an embodiment of his personal philosophy of colonialism. In Bornu, this meant that the pre-Babeh Kanuri leaders regained their old positions, the Shehu was placed at the head of the State (now called the Bornu Emirate), and the fief-holders now called District Heads or Ajias, went to live in "bush" on their respective fiefs. The Village Heads within each district were appointed because of hereditary claims to the position while the District Heads over them were chosen because of their relationship to the monarch and/or other powerful groups at the capital. This set up possible conflicts between DH's and the Village Heads in their districts

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which has lasted to the present day. The policy of the British was to rule through and strengthen the authority of the native leaders, while

175 enforcing compliance with the "fundamental laws of humanity" (which
648 ruled out the slave trade). The European and the African were to co-
642 operate in administering the country but live separate lives socially,
[563] while western ideas and technology were to be introduced slowly when
and if they would be acceptable, and only when capable of being financed
on local revenues.

175 Out of this organization there grew a readily identifiable
648 English sub-culture whose uniqueness was a product of its particular
563 English upper class background and its adjustment to the common stim-
ulus of Northern Nigeria. Their standards of administrative judgment
came from Lugard and their common origins in English society; their
hopes and fears, frustrations and satisfactions, grew out of the com-
mon work situation to be found in the British administration of the
northern Emirates.

Because of the dearth of trained local personnel for carry-
ing on the day to day office work and record-keeping of administration,
the southern Nigerian, predominantly the Ibo, was introduced to Bornu.
They soon came as skilled and semi-skilled labourers, carpenters,
builders, bricklayers, mechanics and traders, and so in Bornu a minority
group of southerners, mostly Christian, and more acculturated to West-
ern ways became an established, although separate, part of the society.

175 After the inception of colonial rule the interaction be-
648 tween the British administration and the native political organization
soon settled into a fairly steady pattern in which the British pushed
continually for conformity to their own values in political organiza-
tion, education, taxation, trade, etc. The Bornu officials and others
who contacted the British, in their response, maintained as much of
Kanuri culture as they could while at the same time learning what to

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648 expect from the Europeans whose consistency was an expression of the British sub-cultural unity. This balance was upset by the second world war, whose post-war boom and the Nigerian independence movement wrought rapid changes in the contemporary scene in Bornu.

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178 At the peasant level, changes have not been cataclysmic. The ending of the slave trade and the pacification of the country from constant wars, especially the remembered ravages of Rabeh, are frequently referred to by the peasants as the most valued changes which have been [433] instituted since the coming of the British. However, from an analytical point of view, the universal spread of a cash economy and the production of cash crops to all levels of the peasant society during the last fifty years is a significant development of no less importance than the conscious value placed upon the pacification. With minor exceptions the arrival of the European has not changed the social relations between the peasant and his fellows, and between the peasant and the [494] chiefs. The development of roads, and the coming of the "lorries" allowed for more mobility, and has slowly expanded the possibilities of settlement for the Kanuri peasant to include not only all of Bornu, but the entire Northern Region, at least for the more adventurous. However, house types, methods of farming, law, religion, local social organization, and most importantly basic values, have continued in the time honoured manner of the past.

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441 The introduction of the few European trading houses has served as a stimulus of profound and continuing effect in the total Bornu society. It has brought the Arab-speaking middlemen who absorb a large proportion of available credit, which the Companies use as a primary item of competition due to the lack of local capital for investment in the area. The trade, and its outside capital, has intro-

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duced new wants in consumer goods, and encouraged the spread of cash cropping and native middlemen to fill roles as distributors of western products, and as buyers of cash crops at the village level.

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However, the Bornu Emirate under the British was not the same article as its 19th century predecessor. Its boundaries were now permanently delimited and required no great responsibility on the part of the local people to defend or expand. The military power of the Shehu and control of "foreign affairs" with other Sudanic military powers had now been taken over by the British, who performed these functions in accordance with the imperial policies of the colonial government of England. Indeed the need for militarism all but vanished since the Bornu political organization and territory were now dependent upon the position and policy of Great Britain in world affairs.

[182] The policies of indirect rule created a climate of control wherein the previous cultural life could continue; however, because of the intrusion of the British administration into the top of the society as a controlling caste who were supposed to rule through local authorities, there occurred a potential weakening of the indigenous political organization. Although a high degree of integration of law, religion and social organization remained, and all functioned to support authority, there were no other authorities at the top of Kanuri society. Unlike the authorities in the traditional society, the British had different values and goals. Because both traditional standards of performance and goals and the new ones are both enforceable, new conflicts have become possible in the contemporary society, especially in the political sphere.

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In order to place kinship in a larger social context, behavior associated with kinship has been categorized under four somewhat

602 overlapping areas of norms of behavior, each of which includes kin and
 571 non-kin relationships. These are, namely, shame-avoidance (nungu), dis-
 [183] cipline-respect (barsum), joking (suli), and friendship (nunkas). The
 mutual expectations accompanying these norms of behavior are the "warp
 and woof" of Kanuri interpersonal relations. Or to put it another way,
 they are the building blocks upon which the Kanuri social structure main-
 tains itself as an ongoing system.

This is especially true of the barsum relationship. The
 Kanuri social structure is hierarchical and feudal, and in order to ac-
 complish the tasks necessary to any human society within this kind of or-
 ganizational framework, the Kanuri require a multitude of diffuse social
 relations arranged into chains of superior/subordinate relationships.
 The rules governing behavior within these superior/subordinate relations
 are encompassed by the concept or norms of barsum and thus this partic-
 ular set of mutual expectations is of central importance to the perpetu-
 ation of Kanuri society in its present form.

602 Some of the dynamics of interpersonal relations are apparent
 571 in the residence patterns. Because a social structure is placed in time,
 591 birth, maturation and death continually create changes in personnel, as
 well as in their roles and aspirations. As we have seen, this can affect
 Kanuri residence associations in two ways. A man may desire to set up
 his own household and thus hive off from the patrilocal residence to
 [592] initiate a residence group under his own direction. Again, a father or
 senior man of the patrilocal compound may die, leaving a group of sib-
 lings under the direction of a senior sibling. This also tends through
 time to break up into smaller residence units which are on the way
 potentially to becoming patrilocal extended households.

602 These structural features are in their turn functions of
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571 power and authority relations within the organization of each residence
592 groupings. This brings us back to baram, for where the members of a residence grouping are obtaining the proper receipts for their subservience, their discipline-respect, then no matter what structural cleavages and conflicts are present the organization remains intact. If, however, the subordinates in the residence association see themselves as not receiving enough for their discipline-respect, or envisage more desirable receipts elsewhere, either through independence or a transfer of their subordination, then cleavages in the residence structure emerge and the group splits up.

583 The discussion of marriage has served to illustrate Kanuri
571 attitudes and behaviour within contractual relations in which goods and services are exchanged between persons and groups. Bridewealth is given by the man and his group of relatives and friends to the girl and her group. The closer the marriage is to being the woman's first, the more likely it is that her luwali (dispenser of marriage rights) and kin [426] group take the bridewealth payments rather than the woman herself. Men borrow from relatives, friends, and superiors to obtain the money for marriage expenses. Thus a man's social relational network in Bornu is an important part of his capital reserve.

581 The Kanuri classify marriages into two major categories,
0 virgin or first marriage (female speaking) and marriage with a woman who
581 has been married before. Marriages are further sub-divided on the basis
593 of the kinds of relationships established by the wedding. The relationship between the man and woman may entail the seclusion of the wife [565] within the compound (nyia kulle). This is not strictly an either/or category but rather a matter of degree, since all Kanuri men like to see their wives remain in the compound as much as possible. However,

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[565] only the upper classes can afford to maintain and enforce such a relationship. The remaining categories can be regrouped under two headings.

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557 Firstly, there are marriages in which a man obtains a wife by virtue of his relationship to an extended household organization and its head. The household head uses his luwali role (and in some cases his influence over other luwali) either to strengthen or create [582] obligatory relationships with other men. In some cases these unions take the form of cousin marriages (nyia durbe). In others, they merely emphasise already existing superior/subordinate relationships, while in still others, they serve as the initiating circumstance for an attempt [583] at such a relationship. As we have seen, gift marriage (nyia sada'abe) in which a girl is given to a Keranicmallam also entails the mutual understanding of an obligatory, subordination by the Mallam to the luwali.

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[584] Secondly, in marriages of agreement (nyia ardiabe) and discovery (nyia kolatabe), the major arrangements are made between the man and the woman alone without recourse or subordination to a household head. These marriages illustrate the adaptation of marriage arrangements to the realities of Kanuri social life. Given the large population and the high divorce rate it is not possible of feasible for all weddings to function as mechanisms for strengthening and creating superior-subordinate relationships. And so this second variety of marriage arrangement operates because many women, especially as they grow older, are not willing to be pawns used for the purpose of defining relationships between men. By the same token, many are not willing to become obligated to others through marriage.

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In the marriage relationship itself there is a conflict between what most Kanuri men expect of their wives - that is to say, subordination - and what they actually experience. It is held that this conflict is due to the woman's ability to subvert the cultural ideal of male dominance through his dependence upon her for much of [565] his own status in the community. This is less true among the upper [586] classes where the man is less dependent upon the woman for his status, and at this level there are fewer divorces.

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The discussion of the Kanuri life cycle along with the material on kinship and marriage has been designed to give a description on interpersonal relations. Although the whole fabric of Kanuri society operates at once, the large scaled structural features of the society are linked behaviourally by these patterns of interpersonal relations. At the level of social stratification, political and economic organization, the organizational patterns of the total society must be seen as operating through and with the modes of interpersonal relations.

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In the life cycle, we have seen how age statuses are only roughly correlated with the physiological phases of growth, maturity and decline. They are more precisely defined in terms of sequences of skills to be learned and tests to be passed during the lives of individuals.

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During the first eighteen months of life the infant (tiful) is introduced into the company of its family within the context of Kanuri culture. This period sets in motion the learning experiences which guide the new member into full adult participation in the society. Until the end of the tiful stage the individual is treated gently and permissively, and socialization pressure is at a minimum. The tiful

858 is considered too young to understand that it must not do this or that.

Its primary task is to survive and feed at the breast while becoming identified as a new member in its immediate society.

867 After weaning (and perhaps adoption) the steady, inexorable process of socialisation training is applied to the child. This childhood training teaches the young Kanuri slowly but with ever increasing emphasis the central importance of the behaviour norm. Especially is this true of baram (discipline-respect) whose necessity and moral primacy the growing child is taught to understand and utilize. This means that the child is taught to shift and extend the culturally prescribed modes of behaviour from one situation to another, and from person to person. From the point of view of the individual, childhood

867 training results in a picture of society. Of major importance in this
571 picture or image of society is its personal diffuseness. The person learns that there is not necessarily a final or definite locus of power and authority residing in any particular person. Instead there is rank and status, and the individual learns to respond in a culturally prescribed fashion to many combinations and permutations of these role characteristics by applying the proper behaviour norms. This, in turn, prepares the individual to live in the adult world of Kanuri social relations in which there are multitudes of ranks to which he may be called upon to react.

561 By the end of childhood, as the Kanuri define it, which

867 means somewhere between the ages of nine to thirteen, the sex roles

882 and many of the accompanying behaviours have been learned. From this period onward, the development towards adult status is sharply dif-

[582] ferentiated for males and females. Girls enter into their first marriage at this time, while boys begin the occupational training that

882 will lead them to their adult roles in the socio-economic structure of
582 the society. Since boys do not marry until the end of this period,
first marriages are much later for males as compared to females.

885 By maturity, the Kanuri mean several things. For a man
it means that he is married, has a compound of his own, an occupation,
the use of some land for farming, a recognized position in the com-
munity organization as the head of a household and some degree of in-
dependence. When some of these social attributes are lacking the per-
son often refers to himself as a "small boy" no matter what his age.
There is no one status term meaning maturity for females, although
terms exist which define her status as a woman who has had a child or
not, as middle aged, and so on.

888 Old age for women often means dependence upon her sons if
she has any, plus some petty trade in order to help sustain herself
economically. For men, old age can be viewed on a continuum running
from the one pole of successful seniority achieved or ascribed during
life, to its opposable and supportative complement, subordination.
Some achieve their seniority, others support this achievement by act-
ing as subordinates, sometimes only as stepping stones to their own
growth in seniority, or at other times, as a life goal in itself.
However, it should be remembered that all men, even the Shehu, are in
some sense subordinate in the total social structure.

56 The discussion of stratification has been organized within
a theoretical framework in which the complex differentiation of Kan-
uri society is classified into status dimensions. These are sets of
agreed upon rankings of persons within some specified area of behaviour.
For the present discussion the status dimensions of ethnic membership,
occupation, birth description, wealth, and rural/urban status, have been
considered in some detail.

considered in some detail.

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The data on ethnic membership indicates that social contacts through physical proximity per se between people of different ethnic origins does not necessarily decrease the social distance between them. The Kanuri feel greater social distance towards pagan groups with whom they interact, than those with whom they have very little interpersonal relations. On the other hand, although they have few interpersonal contacts with Arabs and Europeans, these groups are ranked as high as their own, and in some cases even higher.

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Occupations range widely in terms of the status they accord to individual members of the society. In the low status range are such jobs as butcher, blacksmith, petty broker, drummer-entertainer, and money-lender. On the other hand civil service jobs, including the traditional political offices which have been supported by colonial rule in the contemporary society, are ranked as high status positions. In the middle range are the less highly valued European-introduced occupations requiring manual labour. Here too are the lesser valued traditional political offices like Village and Hamlet Head, while traditional crafts fall below these and above the low status range. The emphasis on non-self-employment among high status occupations indicates that for Bornu just as in many underdeveloped areas of the world, western education means most desirably to those who obtain it, a civil service career, rather than an entrepreneurial or self-employed occupational future.

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Kanuri society is not classified neatly by ascribed birth statuses. The other dimensions of rank modify this biologically given status, and thus birth, although important, is only a rough guide and not a precise measure of an individual's status in the social structure at any particular point in time.

000 at any particular point in time.

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183 People are also ranked in terms of their wealth and the manner in which they use their material resources. There is a conflict between consumption of wealth for subsistence purposes and for the creation and maintenance of social relationships. This is only partially resolved by covert savings because the competition between subsistence needs and the high value placed upon generosity are irreconcilable in practice, given the low standard of living in the area.

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554 In the society as a whole, people are differentiated as to whether or not they are rural or urban. This distinction is more sharply made by upper class city dwellers, since lower class urban dwellers have many ties which connect them to the rural areas as well as to the newly expanded cities.

565 Lower and higher statuses are generally co-ordinated into two broad segments or classes of the society. These large segments are characterized by many cultural features of dress, language, etiquette, house-type and so on. These features create the possibility of simulation of upper class membership by upwardly aspiring lower class individuals. Individuals can imitate these cultural concomitants to give the impression of more or less membership in a class. And this 'more or less' quality turns the segmentary aspect of class into a status dimension along which people can be ranked.

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829 Permeating all of the social stratification and perhaps helping to fuse the various segments is a cultural ideology concerning the nature of success. Kanuri culture contains a theory of society and its causes, all of which is embodied in the concept arziyi. The theory explains to the people, both the structure of society and mobility

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828 within this structure. The higher the status of an individual, the 341.
829 more arziyi he has, and the success of any one individual either in
moving from one role to another, or in performing any given role also
indicates the extent of his arziyi.

631 The Kanuri political system has been described in terms
of the organization of power and authority in increasingly scaled so-
cial structures starting with the extended household organization and
621 ending with a discussion of modern political parties. Any local resi-
dence group in Bornu is potentially a larger political unit either in
the form of a ward within a town or as a separate hamlet in the bush.
This unit resembles an extended family organization but may include
non-kin as well as kin members who are all subordinate in some way to
the senior male of the residence association. We have used the term
[602] extended household organization to describe this flexible unit. The
relation of all subordinates to the senior member is similar to that
between a father and his sons and non-kin as well as kin members
621 bring their wives to this unit at the local level. If the extended
557 household organization head can maintain the subordination of his fol-
[622] lowers, then he is on the way to becoming a "big" man. This can even-
tually lead to his attainment of the political position of Hamlet Head
or Ward Head (Belama). This achieved status is then stabilized through
inheritance.

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571 At the local level, the extended household organization
applies to a territorial unit of closely contiguous compounds each
with its own head but with some form of subordination to the head of
the larger unit. As we have seen, in other sections of the political
organization and in the economic organization this kind of superior/
subordinate relationship may be spread out to include men not living

621 in households contiguous to their superiors. The Kanuri have no name
571 for this constant and fundamental organization in their society. However it is a major conclusion of this study that the organizational characteristics of what we have here labelled the extended household organization is the basic link between the structure of local, small scaled social interactions and the wider scaled political and economic organization of the Emirate.

631 The Emirate as a whole is segmentary and hierarchical
571 structure of authority running from the Shehu-in-Council down to the lowly peasant compound. For such a system to work most efficiently there should be a pyramidal system of control from one final power through followers, to followers of followers and so on. This makes each man in the state link up hierarchically and personally to the man above him. Any conflicts between segments can be minimised and controlled if all members of the system are sensitive to the power at the top of the structure. In the language of the present discussion lower level members are (ideally) subordinates in the extended household organization of the next higher level in the political structure.

631 In practice there are factors present which make it im-
642 possible for the Kanuri political organization to be a simple hierarchy of authority so that each man looks to the man above him in the structure. For power and potential power in the future is segmented at the center of the State among the agnatic lineage members of the royal family and the top leaders of N.A. Thus the lower echelons of the political pyramid are lined up, not behind a unitary repository
[648] of power at the center, but many. The power of the British tends even more to break up any possible unity which might occur at the top of the political organization, and tends besides to create ambiguous

631 and conflicting standards of performance for incumbents of political
642 roles.
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631 The results of this complexity leads to large factions
642 each under one of the segments of power at the center of the State.
665 Or again in the terminology adapted here - there are large extended household organizations beginning at the center of the State and incorporating in their control all DH's and Lawans (and through the Lawans, all Wards, Hamlets and compounds). Traditionally the ruler kept faction leaders close to his capital and could replace them at any time by followers, slaves or eunuchs. The ruler's subordinates made sure that the line of authority between themselves and their fief and its subjects was a loyal one. Only upon the death of a ruler was there much danger of factional disputes disrupting the political organization of the State.

[178] Today this system is in difficulty because the factional segments are not under the control of any one source of power. Because of the shifts in personnel and in personal fortunes due to conflicts with British standards, and new avenues of political success (the N.A.) at the center, the segments cross-cut one another. Thus a Lawan who is a loyal follower of a DH in district X finds himself in district Y under another DH. Or a DH finds that he has N.A. personnel from the capital in his district who are connected to political segments beyond his control.

Integrative organizational tendencies tend to offset some of the present difficulties. We have seen how DH's try to incorporate Lawans into their own organization or, if this is not possible, the DH attempts to replace them with trustworthy followers. Informal communication channels are developed so that forecasts of changes in

631 policy or its enforcement can be predicted accurately by incumbents of
642 political roles. However, the conflicts in the political system of Bornu
665 have caused much labour turn-over and until a more integrated system of political goals and standards of performance is possible this turn-over will continue.

Political parties in Bornu reflect the contemporary political structure of the Emirate and its relation to the rest of the country. Because of Nigerian nationalism, Bornu is required by other Northern Nigerian Emirates to participate in national politics. Thus the powers in the society - the N.A. Council, the IH's, the judiciary, i.e. the ruling class - have joined the political party which supports the interests of others like themselves in Northern Nigeria. The reform party which is against this representation of established power is viewed not as a democratic opposition but as a threat to the moral foundations of the Kanuri State.

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Kanuri consumption patterns indicate what materials and services the people utilize in the pursuance of their way of life and gives [433] us a basis to compare Bornu with other areas of the world. In North American terms, the Kanuri have an exceedingly low level of consumption and production. The analysis has enabled us to estimate that an average four person family in Bornu requires in the neighbourhood of \$180.00 per year to maintain their cultural "norms of living". (1) As we have seen, almost all rural families grow some subsistence crops so that this figure does not represent actual cash income, but rather the value of materials

(1) This term has been defined as "the aspirations or expectations of a people, that is, the living conditions which they seek to obtain or regain, or which they regard as fitting and proper for themselves to enjoy." See Lasker, Bruno, Standards and Planes of Living, in Southern and Eastern Asia, prepared for the twelfth conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations, Kyoto, Japan, 1954 (mimeographed), p. 10.

511 and services at current Bornu prices, which a family needed to occupy a normal place in the culture during 1956-57. In America, the average rural family requires about fifteen to twenty times as much in cash values at North American prices. Or put another way, the Kanuri peasant family has relatively few wants; food, clothing, shelter, tools, entertainments, cosmetics, ceremonials, some form of status in the community, self respect, are perhaps the major components of Kanuri socio-economic life. In comparison, an American wants a multitude of government services, schools, electricity, protection against foreign aggression, old age pensions, unemployment insurance etc., regular holidays, job security, and a host of other items which the Kanuri are not aware of yet, but which seem like necessities to North Americans.

It should also be noted that the Kanuri, although backward materially, are not at all faced with the hardships presented to the people of the overpopulated regions of the world. Thus in India, caloric intake per capita is estimated to be 24.4% below a calculated requirement of 2250 per day. As we have seen, the Kanuri are not generally underfed, although there is a seasonal variation in food supply, and their diet lacks certain nutrient requirements in vitamins and protein.

434 The consumption data should not be construed to suggest that because 76% of Kanuri consumption is for food and clothing, it follows then that the Kanuri are inordinately interested in these items. This statistic only demonstrates again the low level of economic development in the area. For given higher incomes the proportion of total income taken up by food and clothing will decrease, as it does today among the upper classes. To the Kanuri higher income means more food and clothing, but it also means much more expensive ceremonials, better housing, and above all more subordinates who are partially supported by the

434 man of means. That is to say it is not correct to extrapolate the proportions of Kanuri budgets into the future, unless incomes and social values remain constant.

454 Saving takes place in Bornu on a short term basis, and attempts to save after harvest time for a marriage, or for a few weeks in order to buy a new robe, are quite common. However systematic and morally sanctioned long term savings are impossible for the majority of the population.

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571 The traditional reason for savings in the Western world is the highly responsible nature of each man for his own subsistence. The Kanuri on the other hand obtains much of his personal security from his social relationships, his kinship ties, and the other groups of which he is a member. Thus a man may always take a meal at a relative's, friend's or superior's house. It is because of the traditional interpretation placed upon security, that increased income is at present utilized to create stronger and more widely ranging sets of barsum relationships with kin and non-kin subordinates.

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511 Nevertheless, increased cash incomes in the last twenty years, have been changing and expanding Kanuri consumption patterns. Today, city people like to ride and own bicycles. Wrist watches, aided by the post-war manufacture of cheap Swiss makes, are widely owned and demand is increasing. The upper class and urbanites in general give canned fruits and candies to one another as gifts; refrigerators and electric fans are coming into more common use among the urban class, as are vacuum flasks, tea, coffee, industrially produced beverages, and a host of other "modern" goods. Thus Kanuri tastes are widening, and foreign travel, as well as modern means of mass communications, are informing an ever growing section of the population about the comparative poverty of

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511 their own "norm of living", thereby raising evaluative standards and
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511 creating desires for economic development among leaders. These changes
369 have not as yet deeply affected the peasant population. But even in
the bush new wants which mean wider and eventually more expensive consumption patterns can be seen among those rural people whose occupations put them in continuous contact with the cities. It seems inevitable that evaluations of present "norm of living" will become increasingly negative, and the desire for more goods, more comfort and more services will spread over the entire population. As we have seen, the Bornu peasantry are in no sense cut-off from urban life, and must eventually follow the cultural lead of the city.

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The organization of production in Bornu is marked by a high degree of flexibility, or what might be called change potential. The description has isolated several factors all of which tend to promote a wide variability in productive pursuits. These are as follows:

1. Ecology; the cultivation of crops takes only part of the year and most cultivators have other occupations besides farming. The balance between farming and non-farming activities is determined by disease, the predictability of the rains, prices of agricultural produce, soil depletion, and the attractiveness of non-agricultural occupations. The interplay of these determinants has resulted in a peasant population which, except for surplus producers, is only semi-agricultural, and a balance of agricultural to non-agricultural work which, for reasons both ecological and social, is never stable.
2. Differentiation of labour; the dependence of many men on their wives as primary sources of labour, and the high incidence of divorce makes for an unpredictable amount of labour in agricultural production. Furthermore social stratification and full time specialization of labour

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open a path to further differentiation in production, which has been accelerated by the flexibility of the productive organization, and the introduction of many new occupations, as well as western education.

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3. Political relations; although the largest single factor among rural cultivators in land transfer is inheritance, 25% of the sample survey acquired land through their relationships to political leaders. For many people, political relations are fairly stable. However, for the newcomer, or those who develop hostile relations with their leaders, this factor may vary a person's access to some of the productive land.

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Kanuri production, like their consumption, is at a comparatively low level. Although there has been some expansion in the last two decades, increases in consumptive wants have for the most part been met by the general rise in world prices which has given the economy a rising income level in relation to costs of traditional necessities. This phenomenon has caused the people of Bornu to pass beyond a "point of no return" in so far as rising world prices have stimulated and helped meet new wants. As we have said, the expansion of wants is continuing; if the prices of cash cropping levels off or drops, Kanuri production will rise to fill the gap, and/or social unrest, opposition movements to government, and general dissatisfaction with things as they are will also increase.

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Even though the relation of agricultural to non-agricultural production is highly flexible, the level of production is not. The amount produced is limited by technology, cottage industry, attitudes to work and the present low cost of living.

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To the Kanuri, trade is an occupation among others in their society, and traders are identified linguistically by the commodity they deal in, or if there are many, then simply by the general term for trader.

441 As we have seen there are a variety of trading relationships. First of all there is the extended household organization model, in which a household head gives his subordinates money and goods. These are either real household members, kin relations, or people who have spent some time as household subordinates as a prelude to their trading activities. This kind of trade uses the traditional pattern of Kanuri social organization as its structural framework. Indeed it is because the "finance trader" heads a large extended household organization, along traditional lines, that he is a person of high status and prestige in the society. Unlike medieval Europe, feudal Bornu has easily incorporated the trader role into the moral and organizational structure of traditional society.

With all shades of mixture in between the two, another variety of trading relationship is one in which the persons involved are related because of the commodity in which they both deal. Terminology from the traditional organization is used to describe the role relationships so that the supplier is called by a Hausa term for head of the household (mai gida) and the person who buys from him is called, boy, follower, son, subordinate (tada). However, the basis for the relationship is highly differentiated, and defined largely by the commodity being distributed.

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441 Judging by the course of social evolution in western economic organization, which has seen a development from diffuse personal relationships in a feudal background, to one governed by relationship through commodities and services, it is tempting to assume that the same will occur in Bornu. However, it is not so easy for this writer to see such an evolution taking place in any complete sense until standards of living rise significantly and people consume much more than they do now. In Europe the hitherto pariah trading role and relationship became a

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necessary underpinning to the emerging national status of feudalism. Ultimately the unrecognised low status but politically powerful trading class gave birth to a new social order in which religion and social values cherished contractual, commodity defined social relations as having high status. (1) But traditional Bornu feudal society has already incorporated trading roles into its traditional social structure without changing its values or social relations. That is to say trade poses no problem for traditional Bornu society.

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It is because of the very low consumption level that there is such a plethora of middlemen in Bornu. No one middleman (except the large European Companies) has the necessary capital to hold stocks long enough to satisfy the comparatively low demand. Thus as Bauer has suggested (2) the multiplicity of middlemen, each dealing in very small quantities, with low profits, fills the requirements of distribution in a low income and expenditure area. As long as these large numbers of middlemen are needed for distribution in Bornu, the extended household organization model of social relations is well suited to meet the requirements of the tasks to be performed. Indeed it is one of the few ways in which new recruits can be enlisted to middlemen roles in an area where no large pools of capital are available to would-be entre-

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preneurs. On the other hand, socio-economic relations through commodities alone, often requires some capital to initiate the relationship, as, for instance, in the case of Ajimi, and his four suppliers of kola-nuts. His relationship with them is through kola-nut sales, for which he had capital to invest. He gets the capital from his membership in

(1) See Cohen, R., Trade and the Middleman in Social Systems; M. Sc. Thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1954.

(2) Bauer, P. T., West African Trade; pp. 26-7

441 the extended household organisation of Alkali-Bukar -otherwise Ajimi
452 could not have got into trade.

Thus attempts to set up direct contacts with bush retailers and wholesalers, and thus reduce the number of middlemen, by the big Companies is probably doomed to failure. For these bush traders will simply use the credit gained, to set up or expand extended household organisations for trading. Only when the populations as a whole can afford to buy more expensive consumption items, and spend more per person generally, will there be a need for large stores of goods and less need of the multitude of middlemen now present in the social structure.

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[177] The social changes brought about by the colonial administration and the concomitant economic development of the Bornu area have been already treated above. What remains to be considered is the nature of stability and instability in Kanuri society as a whole. The question can be asked in this way; given the nature of the Kanuri social system, what conditions are necessary to its perpetuation in a similar form to that described in the study?

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571 The basic prerequisites for the present structure of Kanuri society are its behavioural norms. Indeed this is a partially tautological statement, for the structure of Kanuri society is the organized use of the behaviour norms in its various social structures. These structures running from small to large scale focus on the various tasks necessary to the perpetuation of social life in Bornu. In the family compound, the local and Emirate political units, the social relations of the individual in the consumption, production and distribution of goods and services, the norms of interpersonal relations give stability to Kanuri society.

182 But these norms are in turn dependant upon other phenomenon
 183 in the society. Child training practices and the conditions under
 571 which they occur teach recruits to the society how to operate in the a-
 dult world. The political and economic structure ensure that proper
 178 beraum relations are rewarded. Changes in these phenomenon will pro-
 571 duce changes in the overall structure of society, and we have seen cer-
 [555] tain changes already occurring. Thus western education is becoming more
 important as a means of upward mobility into the highly ranked civil
 [156] service and this change in recruitment practices will continue. This
 is bound to produce personal conflicts for those who are subjected to
 the conflicting goals and standards of the two systems of socialization,
 which could manifest itself in a western trained group of reformers
 setting up pressure for change in the society.

Urbanization which has been increasing in the past twenty
 years will continue to do so in the near future. Norms of living are
 expanding to include more goods from the outside world. This is being
 constantly stimulated by improved channels of communication and trans-
 portation. The future of the present structure of Kanuri society is
 clearly dependant upon whether or not its political and economic or-
 ganization can be maintained in the face of these ongoing changes as
 they accumulate through time.

178 Another way to think about the stability of Kanuri society
 565 is to consider the possibility of class conflict. If such conflict is
 578 possible, then a different kind of structure can emerge relative to
 the present. At the moment it is hierarchical segments which are often
 in opposition to one another. Class conflict sets up solidary or co-
 hesive tendencies among horizontal strata of society and results in the
 opposition of segments containing relatively equal ranks.

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Peasants often complained of excess taxation, or bad judicial decisions, or the harshness of some upper class person: Again most peasants when asked about Nigerian independence, thought of the idea as horrendous, for with the British gone they believe that they would be oppressed as of old by the upper class. Does this constitute a "class conflict?" If by "class conflict" is meant an opposition of interests, goals, loyalties of different ranks in society, then there is no "class struggle" in Bornu. The study has shown that there is no total reliance or identification of any whole strata or class horizontally across the society. A man feels friendly and culturally comfortable with his social equals. He also feels socially and psychologically comfortable with his followers, subordinates, kinsmen (if not competitors), close friends, and they with him. A peasant-commoner is not one among the masses of his social equals. He is someone's peasant, i.e. he is ranked in a system of superior/subordinate relationships that link him to a great complex feudal organization which is the State.⁽¹⁾ This means, to use Gluckman's phrase, that the society is "crosslinked" by class and status on the one hand which bring together people of similar goals, rank, class, and wealth; and on the other hand, by feudal chains of superior/subordinate relations that link up individuals into a vertical system of loyalties so that a man's ties are both with his class and with his superiors. It is very difficult to imagine a "class conflict" while this kind of social organization is operating. However, the analysis allows us to see the conditions of change of the system. If the stability of the social organization depends, as this argument suggests, to a large extent on the cross-linkage of social relationships, then if these cross-links were to end or weaken, serious conflicts might result either horizontally or vertically depending upon

(1) See Gluckman, Max, Custom and Conflict in Africa, Oxford: Blackwell, 1955.

178 where the weakening occurs. This is the reason why the emergence of
571 a very large city population poses a danger to the entire social sys-
369 tem of Bornu. With a population approaching 100,000 in the restricted
space of an urban center, it is increasingly difficult for everyone to
connect himself to the hierarchical networks of social relations that
make up the socio-political structure of Bornu. Thus the 1952 census
recognised 4-5000 "vagrants" in Maiduguri and present estimates (1956-7)
put this figure much higher. When this system of hierarchical linkages
becomes less possible, it is a simple step to the formation of associa-
tions based primarily on linkages of simple interest, political parties,
trade and occupation unions and so on. The beginning of such organi-
zations can already be seen in the capital city of Maiduguri today.

178 Closely related to this verticality in Kanuri society is
571 the widespread poverty and the relative increase in wealth as one moves
511 up the status system. For it is materially beneficial at present for a
subordinate to give subservience and loyalty to his senior. This means
that a substantial rise in the standard of living can dispose of one
178 of the major functions served by the present social structure. If a
571 tendency is set up in favour of horizontal rather than vertical rela-
511 tionships in the society, the fundamental philosophy of wealth will be-
556 come a cart without a horse. For in the values of the contemporary
culture the proper use of wealth is the creation of vertical relation-
ships.

600 These remarks are not meant to be taken as categorical prop-
hesies concerning the future of Kanuri society. The writer is pain-
fully aware of limitations to accurate prediction which beset his own
work and that of contemporary anthropology. However, having made an
analysis of the structural framework of this society it seems advisable

000 to suppress modesty and make an attempt at prognosis. Only by straining at the interpretive leash and casting our analysis into the future is it possible to submit individual studies to the ordeal of corroboration and contradiction which has always formed the building block of science.

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